

Diglossia

Formal and Informal Tamil

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(Ministry of Human Resource Development, Dept. of Education, Govt. of India)

Manasagangothri, Mysore - 570 006

**DIGLOSSIA :
FORMAL AND INFORMAL TAMIL**

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Editor
E. ANNAMALAI

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To
Dr. E. Annamalai

FOREWORD

The Official Language Resolution of 1968 made the Central Government responsible for the development of all Indian languages in addition to Hindi. The Kher Commission of the Government of India recommended the establishment of three Central Institutes for the purpose of the study of Indian languages with the objective of preparing them for the new roles of national reconstruction and development. All these developments led to the establishment of Central Institute of Indian Languages in Mysore on July 17, 1969.

The primary objective of the Institute is to promote the development of Indian languages in education, mass communication and administration as part of this, the Institute produces materials and methods to use in new domains. The Institute also does basic research work and inservice training.

The Institute conducts seminars, workshops and training programmes in collaboration with Universities and other Research Institutions for the dissemination of knowledge of advanced linguistic research findings.

Some of the scholars do research work while working in the Institute. So, the Institute has taken a decision to publish some of the outstanding doctoral dissertations for their contribution to the better understanding of Indian languages since they also meet the objectives of the Institute.

Diglossic languages pose problems both for the first language learners as well as second language learners. The first language learners are facing problems to switch over from informal language to formal language and the second language learners are facing, problems to switch over from formal language to informal language. In Tamil, these problems are there in all the levels, namely phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon.

The present study highlights the differences between Formal Tamil and Informal Tamil in all the levels. The phonological differences are discussed in terms of underlying representation, redundancy rules and phonological rules.

The differences between Formal Tamil and Informal Tamil in the morphological level and syntactic level are also given.

All the lexical items of Formal Tamil do not occur in Informal Tamil. However, most of the lexical items of Informal Tamil occur in Formal Tamil. So, at the lexical level, only those lexical items which occur in Formal Tamil, which do not occur in Informal Tamil are given along with their corresponding Informal Tamil lexical items.

I hope that this publication will encourage further research work in the area of diglossia in Tamil and other Indian languages.

N. RAMASWAMI
Director I/c.

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SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Symbols

$\emptyset \rightarrow$		addition
$\rightarrow \emptyset$		deletion
α		alpha
β		beta
*		unacceptable
$\rightarrow$	....	becomes
$\sim$	....	nasalization
:	....	length
+	....	morpheme boundary, plus, minus
#	....	word boundary
#i	....	internal word boundary
[ ]	....	feature specification, phonetic symbol
/	....	in the environment of
//	....	phonemic slashes
{ }	....	used to collapse rules in the absence of natural classes, 'either or'

Abbreviations

abl.	....	ablative case
acc.	....	accusative case
Al.	....	alveolar
aux.	....	auxiliary
Bl.	....	Bilabial
cari.	....	cariyai
comp.	....	comparative

conj.	....	conjunction
DI.	....	dental
fem.	....	feminine
FT.	....	Formal Tamil
hon.	....	honorific
imp.	....	imperative
inf.	....	infinitive
inst.	....	instrumental case
LDI.	....	Labiodental
IT.	....	Informal Tamil
loc.	....	locative case
mas.	....	masculine
N.	....	Noun
neg.	....	negative
NP.	....	Noun Phrase
past.	....	past tense
pl.	....	plural
PI.	....	Palatal
poss.	....	possessive case
pre.	....	present tense
PT.	....	pronominal termination
quot.	....	quotative
Ret.	....	retroflex
S.	....	Sentence
sg.	....	singular
V.	....	Verb
Vel.	....	Velar
Vd.	....	Voiced
VI.	....	Voiceless

1

DIGLOSSIA

1.1. Introduction

Diglossia is linguistic variation where a language has two different varieties, of which one is high or formal or literary and the other is low or informal or colloquial speech which might be diverse. Ferguson (1959) defines diglossia as "a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standard) there is a very divergent highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or of another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation".

The 'diglossia' refers to a situation where two or more languages or varieties are used for intra-societal communication. When there are many distinct codes in a society, the serving functions of one code are dependent on the functions of the other code. One set of behaviours, attitudes and values of one language or variety are expressed and supported by another set of behaviours, attitudes and values of the other language or variety. These two sets of behaviours, attitudes and values are fully accepted as culturally legitimate and complementary. They are called as High language or variety and Low language or variety. This separation is based on religion, education and other aspects of high

culture on the one hand and every day pursuits of hearth, home and lower work sphere on the other hand (Fishman, 1974).

Diglossia exists not only in multilingual societies where several languages are recognized officially but also in societies where classical and vernacular varieties are existing with separate dialects, registers or functionally differentiated languages are existing (Fishman, 1974).

The following are the characteristic features¹ of diglossia as proposed by Ferguson (1959), De Silva (1986):

1. The high or prestige variety is very divergent.
2. The high variety is highly codified which is grammatically more complex.
3. The high variety is a superposed variety.
4. The high variety is a vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature.
5. The high variety is learned largely by formal education.
6. The high variety is used mostly for written purposes.
7. The high variety is used for formal speech.
8. The high variety is not used for ordinary conversation by any sector of the speech community.

Moag (1984) has added some more features of diglossia to the features proposed by Ferguson as shown below:

1. The high variety has official recognition but low variety does not have any official recognition.
2. The low variety is the vernacular to most of the people of the speech community whereas the high variety is not the mother tongue of anybody.
3. The low variety is acquired naturally.
4. A good command is achieved in low variety by all it may not be possible to achieve a good command in high variety by all.
5. The low variety does not have any kind of prestige.

6. The low variety is not the vehicle of literary tradition.
7. The low variety is used by all but the high variety is used by only a section of the speech community.
8. The low variety has broad functional territory consisting of several macro-domains whereas high variety has very limited functional territory consisting of few micro-domains.
9. The high variety involves formal learning whereas low variety involves informal learning.

There are situations like bilingualism, bidialectism, standard dialect versus common dialects. So, the diglossic situation must be differentiated from all these situations.

1.2. Diglossia and Bilingualism

The use of two varieties of a language in the same speech community is called diglossia; the use of two languages in the same way is called bilingualism. In other words, "bilingualism is a characterization of individual linguistic versatility and diglossia is a characterization of the social allocation of functions to different languages or varieties" (Fishman, 1974). If two languages are involved in similar situations instead of two varieties as High and Low, it may be called as diglossic bilingualism (Gair, 1986).

There is freedom of choice of language use in the case of bilingualism but no freedom in the use of high and low varieties of diglossia since the use of the two varieties is socially determined. The formal and informal varieties in diglossia are functionally complementary and it is stable whereas bilingualism is unstable as one of the languages may dominate the other (De Silva, 1976).

There are situations where both diglossia and bilingualism exist. In the Swiss-German situation, the entire population of school age and older alternates between High German which is a high variety and

Swiss-German which is a low variety where each has its own firmly established and highly valued functions (Fishman, 1974).

The upper and upper middle class males use classical (Koranic) Arabic for traditional Islamic studies and vernacular Arabics, such as Egyptian, Syrian, Lebanese, Iraqi, etc., for informal conversation. They also use French or English for intra-group scientific or technological communications (Fishman, 1974). This situation is applicable to Tamil also where High Tamil is used in formal situations, Low Tamil in informal conversations, and English in intra-group scientific communications.

1.3. Diglossia and Bidialectism

In diglossia two dialects are used in one speech community of which one is high and the other is low; these two are mutually exclusive in their domain of functions and the high variety is not the mother tongue of any group. In the case of bidialectism, the so-called high dialect is the mother tongue of a group. The bidialectal situation may be explained as given in Moag (1984).

There are three varieties of Hindi:

1. The local Hindi dialect spoken in Eastern Uttar Pradesh districts,
2. Khari bholi, which is a Western Hindi dialect, and
3. Standard Hindi, which is developed on Khari bholi.

In diglossic situation, only a small section of the population has control over the high variety but in bidialect situation of Eastern Uttar Pradesh districts, the standard Hindi is spoken by a larger section of population. The vernacular is the mother tongue to every one in diglossia but it is not the mother tongue to all in bidialectal situation as in the Eastern Uttar Pradesh districts where the local people speak the local dialect and the people in the urban area speak Khari bholi. The low

variety is not used in formal situations in diglossia but the low variety is used in formal situations, such as radio, public functions and for writing in Eastern Uttar Pradesh districts. Khari Bholi, which is high variety, is used for all kinds of informal activities by those who are not the speakers of the local dialect in Eastern Uttar Pradesh districts. The high variety is not acquired as the vernacular low variety in diglossia but in Eastern Uttar Pradesh districts both the local dialect and Khari bholi are acquired as in bilingual situation since Khari bholi is exposed in high degree to children (Moag, 1984).

The type of standardization in diglossia is considered to be digital where the high variety has a standard but low variety does not have any standard. In the case of bidialectism, it is considered to be analogue where the standard variety has higher degree of standardization and the vernacular has lower degree of standardization (Moag, 1984).

When the status of low variety is raised the language situation is changed away from true diglossic situation as in the case of Greek and Haitian creole where the low variety is used in writing in the press or for formally entertaining guests respectively. But the language loyalty helps to retain the language situation as in the case of Fiji Hindi where the Fiji Hindi speakers like to converse in Fiji Hindi rather than in the local dialect, Khari bholi or Standard Hindi when they come to India for their studies. It seems the use of Fiji Hindi in India has the situation of having language loyalty without prestige. So, the binary opposition in prestige may be taken as a defining characteristic feature of diglossia (Moag, 1984).

The lexical pairs with two different pronunciations for high and low varieties help to claim that a particular language is diglossic. Since such a situation is existing in bidialect situation also, the lexical pairs cannot be the defining feature of diglossia. Only the registeral vocabulary distinguishes diglossia from bidialectism² (Moag, 1984).

1.4. Diglossia and Dialect

The use of a dialect is restricted to a particular geographical area or to a particular community claiming as regional and social dialects. In the case of formal variety of a diglossic situation, it is not restricted to a particular region or a community. Instead, the high variety is learnt and used by all the people of a speech community. The standard spoken language which is used in the non-diglossic situation is also uniform throughout the speech community as the formal variety of the diglossic situation. However, these situations are different in the sense that the formal variety of a diglossic situation has socially determined domain of function and the standard dialect, not necessarily, has a restricted function (De Silva, 1976).

A brief account of the diglossic situations³, such as Classical diglossia, Included Creole diglossia and Triglossia which are relevant in the Indian context as given below.

1.5. Classical Diglossia⁴

The High variety represents an earlier stage of the language, though it is not necessarily a direct ancestor of the Low variety. This kind of diglossic situation is found in Arabic, Greek and Tamil⁵.

The 'Classical Arabic'⁶ is described as 'Standard' or 'Literary' or 'Written' or 'Formal'. The high variety maintains a high degree of uniformity and functions as official language in all Arab countries (Al-Toma, 1969).

The high variety is used in political speeches, sermons, lectures, news broadcasts, conference, discussions, and most written activities. On the other hand, 'Colloquial Arabic' is mainly a spoken language but sometimes, written. This spoken language varies from one Arab territory to another and also from one area to another within each territory. The

Colloquial Arabic has a standard or semi-standard based on the dialect spoken in the capital city (Al-Toma, 1969).

The Colloquial Arabic is used in songs, stage, and movies. This Colloquial Arabic is considered as a symbol of illiteracy and ignorance (Al-Toma, 1969).

1.6. Included Diglossia or Creole Diglossia

A French-based creole is used in Mauritius. Creole⁷ is the lingua-franca and French is the language associated with elite and widely used in the media (Johnson, 1986). In this situation, the 'High' variety originates in another speech community and 'Low' variety is a creole based on the language.

A section of the speech community uses or recognizes high variety. Another section of the speech community has the high variety as standard variety, for whom it is part of continuum of functional varieties and there may be many regional varieties.

The standard Kannada, in Kannada situation, is Brahmin Kannada which is vernacular to them. For others, the standard Brahmin Kannada is the high variety and it is not vernacular to them. Here only a section of the speech community which does not use the standard Kannada as vernacular recognizes the language situation as diglossic but for others it is not diglossic situation. This kind of situation is found in Swiss-German where the high variety is Standard German and Haitian Creole where French is the high variety (Gair, 1986).

Haitian Creole situation is called 'Creole Diglossia' where the low variety is a creole based on the language French, which is a standard variety (Johnson, 1986). However, both the Haitian Creole situation and Swiss-German situation are considered to be same and called 'Included Diglossia'⁸.

1.7. Trigllossia

Trigllossia is a language situation of a speech community where three distinct languages are involved.

1. A vernacular language is used for oral inter-group purposes,
2. A superposed lingua-franca is used for communication between mother tongue groups, and
3. A world language is used as a vehicle for international communication. Here, the vernacular language and the superposed lingua-franca are used in education, in mass media and official purposes. However, the allocation of functions between the superposed lingua-franca and the world language is not well defined (Johnson, 1986).

This may be approximately equated with the Indian context, if India is considered as one speech community in a sense in which the regional languages as vernacular languages, Hindi or Hindustani as a superposed lingua-franca and English as world language.

Indian languages, such as Bengali, Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil and Telugu have diglossia. The diglossic situation of these languages are explained briefly here.

1.8. Bengali Diglossia

The present day Bengali language situation may be stated as

1. The presence of regional dialects,
2. The Calit Bhasa (current language) which is based on the formal spoken and written varieties has gained the status of standard colloquial.
3. The literary language consists of two varieties: one is Sadhu Bhasa (pedantic language) and the other is colloquial standard which may be equated with Calit Bhasa (Chatterjee, 1986).

Sadhu Bhasa is high variety and Calit Bhasa is low variety.

As Sadhu Bhasa, Calit Bhasa also has two varieties, namely written and standard colloquial. So, it is assumed that Calit Bhasa emerged as standard Bengali and is used for written and spoken purposes. But it is not so.

Sadhu Bhasa is based on the vernacular literatures of Bengali which were in the form of poetic compositions using different dialects. Later, the Sadhu Bhasa grew using a large amount of Sanskrit elements.

This trend was changed and the spoken form of Bengali was introduced for formal speaking and writing. However, the bulk of vocabulary, grammatical derivation and compounding are from Sanskrit. So, the standard colloquial is nothing but the Sadhu Bhasa (Chatterjee, 1986).

Though Sadhu Bhasa variety of Bengali is losing ground, it is still used in compilation of some text books for schools, and colleges and in writing books on philosophy and law. It is also used in invitation cards for traditional rituals and ceremonies and for writing editorials by some newspapers (Chatterjee, 1986).

Sadhu Bhasa and Calit Bhasa are functionally different. They are used in two different sets of situations.

Sadhu Bhasa is used in public address of all sorts, scripted speech, news broadcast, news journals, creative literature except novels, dramas and short stories, narrative description in novels and short stories, formal letters, and class lectures. Calit Bhasa or Low Calit Bhasa is used in dialogues in novels and dramas, informal personal letters, conversation with family members and to give instructions to workman, servants, and subordinates (Chatterjee, 1986).

As stated earlier Sadhu Bhasa has a long literary heritage starting from tenth or eleventh century and it is held in high esteem by Bengali speech community.

Calit Bhasa is acquired in the natural setting but Sadhu Bhasa is learnt from formal schooling. The demarcation between Sadhu Bhasa and Calit Bhasa is stable.

The language which is spoken in and around Calcutta gained the status of standard colloquial. Those who come with different dialect background could acquire the standard colloquial Bengali if they stay in and around Calcutta. The regional dialect speakers who are literate could learn the standard colloquial by reading dialogues and dramas and fiction (Chatterjee, 1986).

Structurally Sadhu Bhasa is different from Calit Bhasa and these two varieties have socially determined functional domains. The educated Bengali speakers could understand both standard colloquial and Sadhu Bhasa without any problem. Those who could control only standard colloquial Bengali cannot understand and speak effectively the Sadhu Bhasa.

1.9. Telugu Diglossia

Though Telugu is considered as a diglossic language, the present day language situation is not clear to consider it as truly diglossic, since colloquial standard already started gaining in occupying the domains of literary variety of Telugu.

Telugu has two varieties namely literary variety or *granthika* or *kavya bhasa* and colloquial or *vyavaharika* which has regional and social variations. The literary variety was never used for spoken purposes even on formal occasions. Most of the poetical works were written using the literary variety and the prose literature were written using the forms which

were closer to colloquial variety. The colloquial standard is used for almost all literary and formal spoken purposes (Radhakrishnan, 1970).

Though, in principle, it has been agreed to use colloquial variety in all textbooks severe restrictions are imposed on the use of colloquial standard and at various levels of grammar. The colloquial variety is used in textbooks from classe I to X but both the literary variety and the colloquial standard are used in textbooks of Intermediate and Degree levels. So, it is clear, that the colloquial variety could not gain absolute control in educational institutions (Radhakrishnan, 1980).

Though scientists and engineers have limited knowledge in the literary variety, they argue in favour of literary variety. In spite of that, the colloquial variety is used in most of the places such as literary criticism, modern literature and textbooks where the literary variety was used earlier. So, the present situation of Telugu is not true diglossic but bidialectism or standard-with-dialects situation (Radhakrishnan, 1980).

1.10. Kannada Diglossia

Kannada has two varieties, namely literary and colloquial. The literary variety is used in prose literature, newspapers or writing in general. This variety is also used in classroom lectures and sophisticated public lectures and this variety is uniform throughout Kannada speaking area (Nayak, 1967).

The colloquial variety of Kannada is the spoken form of Kannada which has many standards, sub-standards according to the socio-economic status and educational background of the speaker (Nayak, 1967).

As it was stated earlier, the Kannada situation is slightly different where the literary variety is equated with the home language of a section of the Kannada speaking community. The formal language of many

learned Kannada speakers is similar to the home language of the Brahmin community of Karnataka' (De Silva, 1976 : 43).

Kannada situation cannot be considered as true diglossia since the high variety became the home language of a section of the Kannada speaking community. 'However, the non-Brahmin Kannadigas make rigid distinction with regard to the functions of the two varieties. So, the Kannada situation may be treated as a diglossic one' (De Silva, 1976 : 45).

1.11. Malayalam Diglossia

Malayalam has two varieties, namely the literary and colloquial. The literary variety is uniform throughout the Malayalam speaking area whereas colloquial variety has many variations, such as regional and social dialects.

Though the literary and colloquial varieties of Malayalam overlap in some rare occasions, they have their definite social functions and are mutually exclusive (Gopinathan, 1980).

The literary variety is used in administration, in Parliament, platform, classroom, Radio and newspapers and the colloquial variety is used to give instructions to servants, to converse with family and friends, in cartoons and in folk literature (Gopinathan, 1980).

1.12. Historical Perspectives

The differences between the languages of the earlier period and the languages of the later period on one side and the differences between spoken language and written language on the other are found in the old languages in India. The spoken and written differences are found even in the old Indic period.

Classical Sanskrit was the modified version of the language which was spoken by the people, since the Paninian language is different from the older language which was in actual use. According to Burrow (1965), the composition of vedic hymns led to establish the literary language. This literary language was preserved without change. However, differences existed between the language of the educated classes and the common people developed a fairly rapid alteration of Middle-Indo-Aryan from an early period (De Silva, 1974).

The language of vedic literature, such as Rig-Veda (1000 B.C.), the later Samhitas (9th-8th centuries B.C.), the Brahmanas (7th-6th centuries B.C.), the Upanisadas (6th-4th centuries B.C.), the Sutras (5th-3rd centuries B.C.) show a modern form at each successive stage and towards the end of the pre-classical period the language became similar to the Paninian language (Majumdar, 1972). This shows that the language changed from period to period.

The language situation existed between the classical Sanskrit which is considered to be high literary variety and related vedic spoken languages may be viewed as signals of diglossia. In the Middle-Indo-Aryan period also there were many literary varieties apart from the spoken languages such as high literary Sanskrit, literary Prakrit, popular literary Apabhramsa and colloquial Apabhramsa (De Silva, 1974).

The literary language of the classical Tamil was the standardized version of the spoken Tamil of the then Pandya Kingdom. This shows the existence of written and spoken Tamil even before two thousand years. But it is not clear whether diglossia existed in the old Tamil period.

It is clear now that the two classical languages of India, namely Sanskrit and Tamil were the standardized versions of the spoken languages of the earlier period. The standardized languages became

classical languages when they were used to compose classical literatures. The existence of literary language caused to have differences between written and spoken languages which ultimately caused the existence of diglossia. So, it could be stated that the persistence of diglossia is caused by the presence of a large number of illiterate population on one side and the existence of long literary tradition on the other side in a particular language situation.

As discussed earlier, Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam and Bengali have diglossia. All the languages are literary languages which have classical literatures and some other languages show spoken forms which are prior to the period of the classical literatures.

Tamil has classical literatures from third century A.D. (Meenakshisundaram, 1961). However, *Tolkappiyam*, the earliest grammatical work available in Tamil may be assigned to the pre- Cankam period. Inscriptions of Tamil written in Brahmi script are assigned to the third and second centuries B.C. (Meenakshisundaram, 1965).

Kannada has classical literatures from ninth century A.D. The earliest literary work available in Kannada is *Kavirajamarga* (825 A.D.). However, inscriptions in Kannada are available from 450 A.D. (Nayak, 1967). Telugu has classical literatures from eleventh century A.D. The earliest literary work available in Telugu is *Nannaya's Mahabharata* (Sastri, 1969).

Bengali has classical literatures from 15th century A.D. Towards the end of 15th century A.D. many works became classics of Bengali. Though Bengali literature is established towards the end of the 15th century, it is at the beginning stage during the old-Bengali period (950 - 1200 A.D.) (Chatterji, 1970).

According to Gundert, the history of Malayalam language starts with the composition of *Ramacarita*, which belongs to 13th century A.D.

However, the classical literature of Malayalam starts from 17th century A.D. with Tuncattu Eluttaccan (Frohnmeier, 1979).

If we see the present day diglossic languages of India, all the four literary languages of Dravidian language family have diglossia. Except Bengali no language in the Indo-Aryan language family has diglossia. The Hindi language situation, as stated earlier, is bidialectal in the Indian context but not diglossic.

To some extent, all the five diglossic languages of India have different types of diglossia. Bengali and Telugu, to some extent, have similar diglossic situation where Sadhu Bhasa of Bengali and literary variety or grantika or kavya bhasa of Telugu are losing ground since literary variety is replaced by the standard spoken languages. The standard variety of Kannada is the mother tongue to a section of the people. So, diglossia exists only for those who speak different dialects as mother tongue. This Kannada situation is similar to the Hindi situation, as stated earlier, where the standard Hindi is the mother tongue of the urban population. In the case of Malayalam, though literary Malayalam is uniform throughout the Malayalam speaking area, literary and colloquial varieties overlap on some rare occasions. Only the Tamil situation seems to be having a stable diglossic situation compared to the other diglossic situations in India. However, Tamil also losing ground in having separate lists of lexical items for both Formal and Informal Tamil since the lexical items of Informal Tamil are used in Formal Tamil using the phonology of Formal Tamil.

Some of the morphological features are exclusive to Formal Tamil and some features are exclusive to Informal Tamil. But in most of the cases, Formal Tamil has two or more alternating features. It could be possible to say that one of the alternants is more frequent in Formal Tamil and the other in Informal Tamil. Nevertheless both occur in Formal Tamil. In the strict sense, both Formal and Informal Tamil do not have separate morphological features.

The new entry of phonological features into Informal Tamil such as, [b, d, g and f] are also slowly finding way into Formal Tamil. This may be due to the increase in the literate population and the use of modern written language which is closer to the spoken language. The differences between the literary language and the language of the people were many which caused the development of diglossia because the change in the language of the people was rapid compared to the change in the literary language. But the modern written language is converging towards spoken language in many ways. So, the diglossic differences are narrowing down. Probably, diglossia may not exist even in Tamil in future and there will be only dialect differences or bidialectal situation as it is in Hindi situation.

2

FORMAL AND INFORMAL TAMIL

Any language may have two varieties namely, 'written' and 'spoken' if the language has script. The written language may be called 'literary' or 'formal' language. The written language may be considered to be uniform throughout the speech community compared to the spoken language which has many varieties, such as regional and social dialects. The spoken language may be called 'colloquial' or 'informal'. So, the terms such as, 'literary', 'written' and 'formal' refer to one variety called 'language', and the terms such as, 'colloquial', 'spoken' and 'informal' refer to the other variety called 'speech'.

The written language is artificial whereas spoken language is natural since it involves conversation. The spoken language is flexible whereas the written language is permanent. However, the linguistic research has realized that spoken language is basic but not the written language.

The spoken language uses informal register and prosodic features, such as stress, pitch, intonation, etc., and paralinguistic features, such as facial expressions, lifting of eye-brows, smiles, frowns, body language, such as pointing or distancing oneself from the listener (Horowitz and Samuel, 1987); written language lacks all these features.

The written language may be used without giving any reference to the social context and it is conservative due to the existence of history. The spoken language is used with reference to social context. The spoken language does not have history so it is more innovative.

The above mentioned features of two varieties of language could be attributed to the situation of Tamil also. The dichotomy such as 'Literary-Colloquial Tamil' (Sethu Pillai, 1974; Shanmugam Pillai, 1965b, 1972; Annamalai, 1982), 'Written- Spoken Tamil' (Annamalai, 1982) are used in various kinds of linguistic studies of Tamil. The question here is whether the terms, such as 'literary', 'written' and 'formal' refer to one variety of Tamil and 'colloquial', 'spoken' and 'informal' refer to the other variety of Tamil without any problem. This is examined here.

The classical Tamil which is called 'centamiṭṭu', was the standardized form of the dialect spoken around the then Pandya country. The terms, such as 'kotuntamiṭṭu' and 'centamiṭṭu' claim the existence of different dialects and standard or classical language respectively (Seth Pillai, 1974).

The language that was once called as kotuntamiṭṭu, became centamiṭṭu after standardization. This centamiṭṭu is 'classical' Tamil since a particular variety was used to produce classical literatures of Tamil. The use of a particular variety of Tamil for producing literatures has got the name of that particular variety as 'literary Tamil' to differentiate it from the spoken dialects of Tamil at that time. So, it could be stated that 'centamiṭṭu', or 'literary Tamil' or 'classical Tamil' was used to refer to the historically old Tamil, that is, the language of the Sangam literatures and other related literatures of earlier period.

Literary language is poetic language. The poetic or literary usage is called ceyyul vaYakku (Tamil Lexicon). However, the body of literature may be divided into two: works in the literary language and

the works in the colloquial language. The word 'literature' should refer to all available prose and poetry books written in all subjects without restricting the works of literary nature (Meenakshisundaram, 1965). Literary language is primarily for literary or scholarly purposes (Steward, 1968). So, the term 'literary' is not only attributed to poetic language or classical language but also to written Tamil. So, the terms, 'literary Tamil' and 'written Tamil' refer to one particular variety of Tamil. From this point of view the terms 'literary' and 'written' are synonymous.

The term 'colloquial' may refer to the spoken variety without giving any reference to the region or the social group. The term 'colloquial dialect' is used in opposition to the term 'literary dialect' (Meenakshisundaram, 1964). So, the terms, 'colloquial' and 'spoken' may be considered as synonymous.

The terms 'literary' and 'written' Tamil may not include the reading pronunciation of written Tamil, which is slightly different from both the literary and written Tamil. So, the term 'literary' or 'written' Tamil does not refer to the reading pronunciation of the particular variety of Tamil. But the term 'Formal Tamil' includes all the three, namely literary Tamil, written Tamil and the reading pronunciation of the written Tamil. In other words, the term 'Formal Tamil' refers to the 'language' which is used in the formal situations without giving reference whether it is a 'written' language or 'literary' language.

The terms 'colloquial' and 'spoken' may give the sense of 'speech' as against 'language'. But this variety may be a regional variety or a social variety of Tamil, since no spoken variety may be referred to without referring to its region or social group. A particular social or regional dialect, may not include the standard spoken Tamil which is part of spoken Tamil. So, the term 'Informal Tamil' may include all the three, namely colloquial, spoken and the standard spoken Tamil. So, the terms 'Formal' and 'Informal' Tamil are more appropriate to capture the differences between 'written' and 'spoken' or 'literary' and 'colloquial'

Tamil including the reading pronunciation of 'written' Tamil on the one side and the standard dialect of 'spoken' Tamil on the other side.

2.1. Tamil Diglossia

It is possible to trace the existence of variation in Tamil from the earliest period in the history of Tamil. The historical evidence does not give a clear idea whether there was diglossia in Tamil or not, but it is possible to come to a conclusion on the basis of available evidence, that Tamil had two different styles, namely literary style and colloquial style from the earliest period. The grammatical literature refers to the colloquial forms and these forms have been used in inscriptions and to a great extent literary works have also used them. For example, the earliest grammatical work in Tamil, *Tolkappiam* mentions the terms *vaṭakku* 'colloquial language' and *ceyyuḷ* 'literary language' and also mentions the parts of the Tamil country where the speech was closer to the literary language and the parts of the Tamil country where the speech was deviant from the literary language. The terms, such as *centamiṭṭu* 'the country of standard Tamil' and *kotuntamiṭṭu* 'the country of deviant Tamil' show the existence of more than one style in the use of Tamil even two thousand years ago (Sethupillai, 1974).

Some of the poems from *puṇanaṇṇuṇṇu* and *kalittokai* which are more than eighteen centuries old have the sentence patterns of colloquial speech (Vardarajan, 1964). It shows the existence of informal speech before two thousand years.

The earliest literary work of Tamil, *puṇanaṇṇuṇṇu* has dialect words, such as *vayanku* < *vaṭanku* 'to give', *koḷiyuṇṇu* < *koṭṭiyuṇṇu* 'name of a place' (Zvelebil, 1964).

The Sangam literature *Cilappatikaram* which belongs to the fifth century A.D. has used dialect words, such as *cirumikal* 'young girls', *teṭṭi*

'to separate', pani 'fever', etc. The literary work has also mentioned the dialect areas, such as malai na:tu and kuṭa na:tu (Sethupillai, 1974).

Tolka:ppiyam has mentioned the word tisaiccol the speech of different regions. This shows that Tamil had regional dialects even at the time of Tolka:ppiyam. According to commentators, the Tamil land was divided into twelve dialect regions. They are:

1. Aruva:va vaṭatalai na:tu
2. Mala:tu
3. Aruva: na:tu
4. Punal na:tu
5. Paṇṇi na:tu
6. Tenpa:ṇṇi na:tu
7. Ve:ṇa:tu
8. Kuṭṭa na:tu
9. Kuṭa na:tu
10. Kaṭka: na:tu
11. Ci:ta na:tu
12. Pu:Yi na:tu (Meenakshi Sundaram, 1965).

Vi:ra:Yiyam, a grammar of 11th century refers to certain usages as vulgar. Perundevanar, its commentator, has shown that such usages are prevalent in three areas: the land of the black soil, the present day Coimbatore and Salem districts, the Cola country or the land of Kaveri and the Pallava country or the land of Palatu (Meenakshisundaram, 1965: 194).

The existence of High Tamil and Common Tamil was observed by the early eighteenth century Tamil scholar Beschi (1971). According to him, there are two dialects of the Tamil language of which one is High and the other is Common. He has written a grammar for the Common Tamil.

Tamil is probably the earliest cultivated language of all the Dravidian languages, the most copious and contains the largest portion and the richest variety of undoubtedly ancient forms and so it is placed at the head of the list. This language has two dialects, the classical and the colloquial, or the ancient and the modern, and they are called 'Sen-DamiY' and 'Kodun-DamiY' respectively which differ one from the other so widely that they might be considered different languages (Caldwell, 1974).

Tamil literature has evidences to show the existence of not only the regional dialects but also social dialects. The existence of different social dialects may be seen by the words used by different communities. Konkan is the dialect word of fishermen, kiYavan, kiYatti are the dialect words of farmers. ma:lai, viḷalai are the dialect words of hunters. These words are found in Sangam literatures to refer to hero and heroine (Shanmugam, 1980).

The words, such as pari 'gold' used by goldsmith, nilam 'oil press' used by oil mill owners and colviḷampi 'toddy' used by hunters, toddy tappers and brewers are found in Nannul, a thirteenth century Tamil grammar. The dialect of kuravar, a hill tribe is found in kutta:lakkuṭavanci, a dance drama of the eighteenth century. The Muslim dialect with free mixing of Persian words is found in NonṭiNa:ṭakam (Shanmugam, 1980).

Certain phrases which were current in the colloquial usage are found in kalampakams, in the Saivites and Vaisnavites poems, in the folk songs and in later poems. PaYamoYi, a literary work has proverbs which belongs to colloquial literature (Meenakshisundaram, 1965 : 3).

There are also inscriptional evidence to show the existence of variations in Tamil. Inscriptions, in Tamil, are available from third century B.C. and they show the existence of colloquial speech.

There were three kinds of variations in Tamil, viz., geographical, stylistic and social. Geographical variations coincided with the political boundaries of the Pallava and Pandya kingdoms. These two kingdoms used two different scripts for writing the inscriptions, the Pandya kingdom used VatteYuttu and Pallava kingdom used Grantha. The language in most of the inscriptions in the Pandya kingdom was closer to the literary Tamil and the language used in the inscriptions in the Pallava kingdom was closer to colloquial Tamil. The use of different scripts may be an attempt to maintain the differences in the style (Velu Pillai, 1974).

The South Indian Brahmins lived in exclusive villages called Brahmadeya or Agrahara and the non-Brahmins lived in **separate** localities **called u:r**. A vast majority of inscriptions are about the Brahmins and their villages and Sabhas. So, it is assumed that the dialect differences might have been there on the basis of the social variation (Velu Pillai, 1974).

Zvelebil (1964) contends as referred by Velu Pillai (1974), that the dichotomy between Brahmin and non-Brahmin speech variation in Tamil is fundamental and basic. Brahmin dialect has used Sanskrit loans without assimilation but the non-Brahmin dialect has used them as assimilated forms. The use of Grantha script was necessary to write the unassimilated Sanskrit loans. The following are some of the examples of unassimilated Sanskrit loans.

Bhumi

Bho:gi

Prati

Madhya:na

Samvatsara

De:vakha:tam

The following are the examples of fully or partially assimilated loans:

Brahmanan
Kausikan
Mahesvarar
Sabhaiyo:m
Paramesvararkku

Inscriptional language accepted phonemes and phoneme sequences exclusive to Sanskrit without assimilation, whereas the literary language assimilated them (Panneerselvam, 1968).

Some of the phonological mergers, such as /ɾ/ and /j/ into /j/ in colloquial Tamil are found in the eighth century inscriptions. This change of /ɾ/ to /y/ as in ko:ɾi > ko:yi 'hen', the change of /y/ to /c/ as in uyir > ucir 'life', the loss of /r/ as in pa:rkka > pa:kka 'to see' show the existence of colloquial Tamil since these phonological changes were not allowed in literary Tamil.

The following illustrations from inscriptions of eighth and ninth centuries A.D. (Zvelebil, 1964) assert the existence of Informal Tamil. The forms to the left are literary and the forms to the right are colloquial as found in inscriptions:

ellai	→	elle	'boundary'
aintu	→	ancu	'five'
aracar	→	aracaru	'king'
vaitta	→	vacca	'having put'
kal	→	kallu	'stone'
ko:no:lai	→	konole	'order of the king'

Some of the words from the inscription from sixth to tenth centuries (Velu Pillai, 1974) are almost like the present day spoken Tamil.

ancu	'five'
kuṭu	'to give'
nellu	'paddy'
kallu	'stone'
tale	'head'
pu:vu	'flower'

As stated earlier, Ferguson (1959) has proposed a set of features for defining diglossia. Tamil is considered to be one of the diglossic languages. In South India, in the whole of South Asia, the only diglossia where prestige linguistic usage is characterized by all eight features is the Tamil situation (De Silva, 1986).

It is shown here how the Literary Tamil (LT) or Formal Tamil (FT) which is a prestigious linguistic usage is characterized by all the eight features to claim the Tamil situation as a true diglossic situation.

2.1.1. Function

According to Ferguson (1959), the specialization of function for high and low varieties is one of the most important features of diglossia. The high variety is used in one set of situations and the low variety is used in another set of situations. Very rarely the use of the two varieties overlap. The following is the list of situations where the high and low varieties are used.

<i>Situations</i>	<i>High Variety</i>	<i>Low Variety</i>
1. Sermon in Church or Mosque	+	x
2. Instructions to servants, waiters, workmen	x	+

<i>Situations</i>	<i>High Variety</i>	<i>Low Variety</i>
3. Personal letter	+	x
4. Speech in parliament, political speech	+	x
5. University lectures	+	x
6. Conversation with family, friends, colleagues	x	+
7. News broadcast	+	x
8. News editorial, news story, caption on picture	+	x
9. Caption on political cartoon	x	+
10. Poetry	+	x
11. Folk literature	x	+

For the situation, sermon in Church or Mosque, Temple situation also may be taken for Tamil. In most of the temples in Tamilnadu, songs from the devotional literatures, like Thiruvacakam, Thiruppukaz and Thiruvalluvar are being sung. During the month of Markazhi (December-January) songs from Thiruvalluvar and Thiruvempavai will be sung.

Though poetry is written in literary Tamil, the folk songs are in IT. The proverbs are available in FT. Since the proverbs are mostly from the uneducated people, the language of the proverbs is in IT also. When the proverbs are used in the literatures, they are written in FT (Perumal, 1989). The captions on political cartoons may be written both in FT and IT.

2.1.2. Prestige

FT is considered to be high or superior due to its long literary heritage, standardization and its perfection in its usage. For an

uneducated man, IT is not Tamil, because it is used only for ordinary conversations.

The language which is learnt through proper schooling may become more perfect compared to the IT which is acquired in the natural situation. The high variety has developed prestige due to its use in the religious literature and religious functions.

2.1.3. Literary Heritage

Tamil has a long literary tradition which goes back to more than two thousand years. The Sankam literatures and the Middle Tamil period bhakti literatures are held in high esteem by all the Tamil speakers. The language of modern Tamil, though it looks different from the language of the Sankam literatures, is the continuation from one stage to another. It is claimed that the literary variety of Tamil is more conservative compared to other classical languages of the world, in the sense that though the body of the literature represents a long time span, there are no differences between the earlier language and the present day Tamil. This may be seen here as observed by Zvelebil (1968) and quoted by Shanmugam (1980): "the phonology and the morphology of modern literary Tamil is in the basic outlines and structural principles identical with the norm set up in the 3rd - 2nd century B.C. Hence, the often repeated statement that Tamil is remarkably 'conservative' that it has preserved its identity through the ages that it has changed very little or not at all. This statement is quite true, very true even as far as the standard literary style of the language is concerned".

In modern Tamil, each variety has further variations. FT has two styles, namely the pedantic and the popular styles. IT has many dialects. The popular style of FT draws its lexical items from IT, but with the phonology of written Tamil. Novelists, however, write the informal words closer to their pronunciations in conversations between characters.

2.1.4. Acquisition

The local dialect which is one of the varieties of IT is acquired by the children. So, one of the varieties of IT will be the vernacular of the children. The children will speak in that variety to the adults. The children may hear the standard spoken Tamil if they are among the educated people or if their parents are educated people, otherwise they will hear only the low variety. The children cannot acquire the standard spoken variety even if they are exposed to this variety. It needs formal schooling to learn the high variety of Tamil.

2.1.5. Standardization

FT has long grammatical tradition as it has long literary tradition from Tolka:ppiyam which is the earliest work available in Tamil. There are other traditional grammars like Ya:pparunkalavirutti of the tenth century, Vi:raco:Yiyam of the eleventh century and Nannal of the thirteenth century (Meenakshisundaram : 1965). All these grammars are written in verses using high Tamil.

Though Tamil has a long tradition for both grammar and literature, it does not have a long tradition for the compilation of dictionary. However, there are many lexicographical works like Tiva:karam, Pinkalantai, Nikaṇṭu, Cu:ta:maṇi, Uricol Nikaṇṭu, Akara:ti Nikaṇṭu, etc., written in Tamil verses. Catur Akara:ti, written in the early eighteenth century by Beschi, is considered to be the first dictionary as it is named Akara:ti 'dictionary' (Tamil Lexicon Volume I : 1982).

There are some linguistic studies of various Tamil dialects written in English due to the development of linguistics in the recent past. Informal Tamil does not have a long tradition either for the study of grammar or for the compilation of dictionaries. However, there is a grammar called 'A grammar of the common dialect of the Tamil language' written in the early 18th century by Beschi (Beschi : 1971).

There is no fixed alphabetical system with established norms for the pronunciation of sounds of Informal Tamil.

Regarding the specialization of the function of high and low varieties, there is no overlapping. However, there are few exceptions, such as writing IT words in personal letters. This situation may be like novels where conversation is used in dialogues whereas the narration is in FT.

Further, it may be observed that both FT and IT do not have two different sets of lexical items. The lexical items which are used in modern Tamil are shared by both FT and IT except a small subset of lexical items which is not shared by IT. This small subset of lexical items occurs only in FT.

2.1.6. Stability

There is evidence to show that there was difference between spoken and written Tamil in the past, but there was no evidence to claim that Tamil had diglossia in the past. Further, the concept of diglossia is also of recent origin.

2.1.7. Grammar

There are striking differences between FT and IT in phonology, morphology and syntax.

Though the underlying representations for both FT and IT are the same, the surface representations are different. The monosyllabic case suffixes which end in a consonant in the underlying representation in FT take /e/ in IT. The underlying representations which have /i/ or /u/ in the first syllable and low vowel in the second syllable in FT have /e/ or /o/ respectively in IT.

FT allows only one non-syllabic segment in the word initial position but there could be two non-syllabic segments in IT.

IT has the following additional phonological rules which claim that the phonology of IT is more complex than that of FT.

1. Palatalization rule,
2. Nasal assimilation rule,
3. Nasalization rule,
4. Lateral deletion rule,
5. Glide deletion rule, and
6. Distribution rule.

In morphology, there are a few items which are exclusive to FT and some are exclusive to IT but on the whole both occur in FT with some exceptions, like gender number distinction, temporal clause, honorific and non-honorific forms, etc.

There are words which end in vowel and also there are words which end in consonant in FT but all the words of IT end in vowel. All the words of IT end in vowel because of the processes, such as the deletion of word final lateral and glide, deletion of word final nasal consonant causing word final nasalized vowel, insertion of /u/ after sonorants at the word final position results in the elimination of word final consonants. So, no word ends in a consonant in IT.

The insertion of *carriyai* -in and -an before the dative case is found in FT, but not in IT. Normally motion verbs take the dative case marker in FT but not in IT.

The possessive case relation is expressed with the case markers -*utaiya*, -in and -*atu* in FT. These case markers are not used in IT. The locative case marker -*iṭam*, which is used in FT, is not used in IT. Instead of the case -*iṭam*, the post position *kiṭṭe* is used in IT. The consecutive action is expressed by adding the suffix -um with adjectival participle in

FT. In IT, the consecutive action is expressed by adding the suffix *oṭane* with adjectival participle.

The participial noun is formed by using all the three tenses in FT but in IT the participial noun is formed by using past and present tenses but not future tense. In FT, the imperative is expressed by adding the suffix *-um* with infinitive but this type of construction is impossible in IT.

The comparative degree is expressed by adding the suffix *-inum* or *-ilum* with noun in FT, in IT the suffix *-viṭa* is added with accusative case to express comparative degree.

Third person neuter endings are used with human nouns to indicate ambivalence about respect in IT but this kind of expression is not available in FT.

Dative and Nominative subjects are found in FT but in IT, only the Dative subject is available.

The use of honorific and non-honorific suffixes both in the imperative and non-imperative sentences are restricted to IT.

Passive construction is found only in FT but not in IT.

Relativizing Dative case NP is more common in FT. The use of purpose clause is more common in IT.

Certain infinitive clause constructions having adverbial function is peculiar to IT.

The interrogative clitic *-a* occurs with predicates in IT. In FT it occurs with the elements to be conjoined.

Certain verbs with tense markers are reduplicated to convey different meanings from the meanings of the individual verbs. In FT actual words which convey the meanings of the reduplicated verbs are used.

2.1.8. Lexicon

There are no two sets of lexical items for FT and IT separately to claim that Tamil situation is diglossic. The words which occur in IT occur in FT also. Thus contrary to one of the defining characteristic features of diglossia given by Ferguson (1964) as there are not many doublets of lexical items one of which is exclusively used in FT and the other in IT (Chapter 5).

2.1.9. Variations in Formal Tamil

It has been shown above that two varieties of Tamil, namely FT and IT existed from the earliest period of the history of the Tamil language. In modern Tamil, each variety has further variations. FT has two styles, namely the pedantic and the popular style. It has many dialects as discussed below. The popular style of FT draws its lexical items from IT but with the phonology of written Tamil. The novelists, however, write the informal words closer to their pronunciations in conversations between the characters.

2.1.10. Variations in Informal Tamil

IT has geographical as well as social variations besides the standard spoken Tamil. The standard spoken Tamil will be discussed later. There are four regional dialects in the present day IT of Tamilnadu (Zvelebil, 1964; Varma and Saktivel, 1976). They are: (1) Northern dialect, (2) Eastern dialect, (3) Western dialect, and (4) Southern dialect. The Northern dialect is spoken in the districts of North Arcot, Chingelpet, and Madras; the Eastern dialect is spoken in the districts of Tanjore, South Arcot and Trichy; the Western dialect is spoken in the districts of Salem, Darnapuri, Nilgiri and Coimbatore; and the Southern dialect is spoken in the districts of Madurai, Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli and Kanniyakumari.

The Southern dialect spoken in Kanniyakumari district maintains the difference between the alveolar trill /r/ and alveolar flap /ɾ/ whereas the other dialects have lost it. All the other dialects have only one /r/, the alveolar flap. The Southern dialect spoken in Tirunelveli district has /v/ as the present tense marker as in *collu-t-a:n* 'he says' which is not found in any other dialect. The Southern and Western dialects have lost the contrast between /ɽ/, the retroflex non-lateral continuant and /l/, the retroflex lateral; both have merged into /l/. The Northern dialect also has lost /ɽ/; it now merged with /y/ and /ʃ/. The Eastern dialect retains /ɽ/.

2.1.11. Social Variation

It could be stated that there are three distinct social dialects in Tamil, namely Brahmin dialect, Non-Brahmin dialect and Harijan dialect. However, the Non-Brahmin and Harijan dialects are coming closer since the Harijan dialect is shedding away its characteristic features. The barrier between Brahmin Tamil and Non-Brahmin Tamil has been retained and in some places it is greater but the barrier between non-Brahmin and Harijan has become lesser due to the loss of the characteristic features of the Harijan Tamil (Zvelebil, 1964). Since no complete dialect survey of Tamil has been undertaken, it is not possible to say anything definite about this point. It could be said with measurable assurance that only the Brahmin dialect has certain features which are found among all Brahmins in all regions and only among them.

2.1.12. Standard Spoken Tamil

"The spoken language is necessarily split into local dialects; that no spoken standard has appeared yet in Tamilnadu; that the future standard speech of the Tamils will probably be based on the so-called Pandit Style - that is the style spoken by Tamil Pandits and teachers in schools and colleges which is almost quite homogeneous, which,

however, differs slightly from the uniform standard literary Tamil and which is the norm and goal of all educated Tamil speakers, has prestige, may be even termed 'Standard Spoken Language' but is not used for informal conversation at home and among friends" (Zvelebil, 1964). This is also the view of V.I.Subramoniam. Andronov's opinion on the contrary, as referred in Zvelebil (1964) is that a colloquial standard has been fairly well developed in Tamil, is being used by a large portion of the educated and semi-educated population, and may be described in grammar and vocabulary as a complete system. Zvelebil gives his opinion, about the standard spoken Tamil after denying the above mentioned two opinions. "It seems that a common colloquial language, based on the local forms of speech system in the eastern areas of Tamilnadu and in Madras, is being developed towards a standard. It is spoken today mainly by the educated strata of middle-class urban population, notably by the intelligentsia of such cities as Madras, Tiruchi, Madurai, and other big Tamil towns. It is a mixed variety, not quite uniform - since not yet subject to any conscious written normalization - based, as already said, upon the eastern and northern dialects and in many respects different from the written literary language".

It may be stated that the emergence of the standard spoken Tamil is in the process of making. In this study, IT is compared with FT. FT is one approximate to that spoken by the author in inter-dialect group situation but there might be some traces of the author's home dialect, viz., the South Arcot District Harijan dialect.

Though many scholars discussed and supported the existence of the standard spoken Tamil, as stated earlier, some questions need to be raised to consider it as a system of language as Kaye (1970) has stated with respect to modern standard Arabic and colloquial Arabic. The modern standard Arabic is not a language since it has no native speakers. He states, further, that the available grammars of modern standard Arabic are not descriptive but prescriptive and the two varieties of Arabic,

namely the modern standard Arabic and colloquial Arabic can only be compared but a grammar cannot be written for modern standard Arabic.

The arguments given against modern standard Arabic may be extended to standard spoken Tamil also which cannot be considered as a dialect as any other social or regional dialect since there are no native speakers who speak this dialect exclusively. It is not possible to write a grammar for the standard spoken Tamil but it is possible to write a grammar for any social or regional dialect. However, in some cases, the standard spoken Tamil could be compared with other dialects or varieties. From these points of view, the standard spoken Tamil cannot be accepted as an existing system within a system.

The language of intelligentsia may not be uniform since this language is a mixture of many Indian and foreign languages. At this stage, I like to say that the standard spoken Tamil is hypothetical language. However, it could be stated that the Literary Tamil is converging towards Colloquial Tamil (Annamalai, 1982) and the resultant language will be different from both Literary Tamil and Colloquial Tamil which will be the modern Tamil in future. Since the literary Tamil is conservative to maintain the phonology of written Tamil, the future modern language will be closer to the colloquial Tamil with the phonology of written Tamil.

2.2. Phonological Features of Tamil Phonemes

2.2.1. Generative Grammar

The grammar of a language is an explicit theory of the intrinsic linguistic ability of the ideal speaker-hearer of that language constructed by linguists. This grammar must generate infinite number of well formed sentences and must assign a structural description to each sentence.

General linguistic theory is based on the assumption that a natural language is a system of hypothesis concerning the essential properties of natural languages. The essential properties of natural language are linguistic universals. These linguistic universals are of two kinds, viz., formal universals and substantial universals (Chomsky and Halle, 1968 : 4). Formal universals determine the structure of the grammar, form and organization of rules. The theory of generative grammar asserts that there are formal universals regarding the kinds of components, the kinds of rules, and the conditions on the rules. Substantial universals define sets of elements, such as semantic features, phonetic features, grammatical categories from which particular grammars draw their inventories.

Generative grammar requires that it should meet three adequacies, viz., observational adequacy, descriptive adequacy and explanatory adequacy. A grammar meets the level of observational adequacy if it correctly describes the data which is observed and nothing more. In other words, a grammar with only observational adequacy describes observed data; a grammar with descriptive adequacy generates the entire data and a grammar with explanatory adequacy predicts the possible data (Chomsky, 1965). It is descriptively adequate if it also correctly describes the intrinsic linguistic ability of the idealized native speaker. The descriptively adequate grammar thus offers an explanation for the intuition of the native speaker. A grammar meets the level of explanatory adequacy if it provides a principled basis for the selection of descriptively adequate grammars (Chomsky, 1965).

The rules in the generative grammar belong to three major components, viz., syntactic, semantic and phonological. The syntactic component is a finite system of rules which generate an infinite number of syntactic descriptions of sentences. The semantic component assigns the semantic interpretations for the syntactic descriptions of sentences of the syntactic component. In other words, the semantic component relates the structure generated by the syntactic component to that of certain semantic representations. The phonological component assigns the

phonetic interpretation to the syntactic description referring only to the properties of the surface structure. In other words, the phonological component relates the syntactic surface structure of the syntactic component to that of the phonetically represented signal. The semantic and phonological components are purely interpretive and they get their information from the syntactic component.

A grammar must meet two conditions:

1. A set of formal devices for expressing rules.
2. A set of general conditions on these rules.

A grammar which meets these two conditions is a hypothesis and if there is more than one grammar for a language which meets these conditions, the highest valued hypothesis is selected on the basis of some evaluatory criteria, such as simplicity, naturalness, etc.

2.2.2. Phonological Theory

The general American structuralist phonological theory is variously called taxonomic phonology (Chomsky, 1964), autonomous phonology (Ferguson, 1962). The discovery of phoneme and the phonemic analysis of a wide range of languages are the contributions of structural linguistics.

There are various theories about the phoneme. 'The phonemes are designed to explain the speakers' tacit knowledge of his language' (Sapir, 1925); 'the phoneme is to be considered as an abstraction with no basis in reality at all' (Twadell, 1936); 'the phoneme is a group of related sounds of a given language which are so used in connected speech that no one of them ever occurs in positions which any other can occupy' (Jones, 1957).

Various schools of linguistics defined the phoneme differently as a class of phones as in post Bloomfieldian American linguistics, or as a bundle of distinctive features as in Bloomfieldian and Jakobson, or a minimal term in a phonological opposition as in Prague School.

Phonemics became the central concern for Bloomfieldian linguists and it remained for more than a decade. Whereas, for the structural linguists, 'phoneme' is the substance of its achievement, the generative linguists denied the existence of autonomous phoneme which is independent of the grammatical description of the language. Generative phonology differs from structural phonology both in theory and methodology.

In generative phonology, the underlying systematic phonemes are determined on the basis of the underlying representations of morphemes. In structural phonology, the phonemes are determined on the basis of contrast at the phonetic level. This kind of minimal contrast at phonetic level need not necessarily lead to the conclusion that there is phonological contrast. There is no empirical evidence to hold the view that the sounds contrasting in the phonetic environments directly correspond to phonemes (Postal, 1968). The assumption behind it is that the phonemic structure is exactly like phonetic structure except that a subset of predictable phonetic features are removed. The underlying philosophical or methodological basis for autonomous phonemics is that the phonemic structure must be a result of segmenting and classifying phonetic structure. This assumption cannot be brought forward as a justification for the view that the phonetic contrasts reveal all and only the phonemic contrast.

The structural phonologists thought that an autonomous phonemic level is necessary to state free variation of phonemes. But the specifications of free variations without autonomous phonemic representative in the systematic phonology is possible by associating phonetic representations with morphophonemic structure (Postal, 1968). There is, therefore, no need to have the level of autonomous phonemic representation for this purpose.

The phonetic properties of a form do not fully determine its phonemic structure given knowledge of free variation. In the generative

phonological model, the phonetic properties directly determine a substantial percentage of the phonological properties but not all.

Generative phonology allows historical facts to be used for evaluating between competing analyses. In the structural model, on the other hand, the historical facts are kept apart in the description of synchronic phonology, though phonemes are a historical product and a step in historical development (Swadesh, 1934).

The present theory of generative phonology is hinted at in 'The Syntactic Structures' (Chomsky, 1957). It is elaborated and exemplified in 'The Sound Pattern of Russian' (Halle, 1959), "Phonology in Generative Grammar" (Halle, 1962), "On the Bases of Phonology" (Halle, 1964), and "How to Measure Length of Lexical Representations and Other Matters" (Halle, 1969) are some of the important papers in the development of the theory of phonology. 'The Sound Pattern of English' (Chomsky and Halle, 1968) is the most important contribution to the theory of generative phonology. It gives a detailed description of the theoretical principles of generative phonology and discusses a number of methodological principles of generative phonology in a detailed manner.

2.2.3. The Function of the Phonological Component

The basic objective of phonology is to explain how the sentence is pronounced. It does it by specifying the relation between syntactic surface structure represented as a string of formatives with labelled brackets and the phonetic representation. The phonological component also specifies free variation and contrast and characterizes the possible morpheme (Postal, 1968).

The lexicon contains all lexical and grammatical formatives. Each formative is marked for the syntactic, morphological and phonological features. The phonological features are given in columns. Plus sign in the phonological matrix indicates the presence of a particular feature and

minus, the absence of the feature. The features are not specified if they are redundant. This non-redundant representation of the formatives is called the underlying phonological representation. The phonological rules operate on them to derive the surface phonetic representation.

2.2.4. Readjustment Rules

One subset of readjustment rules insert phonological phrase boundaries, remove boundaries which are not relevant for the operation of phonological rules and insert phonological word boundaries (Chomsky and Halle, 1968 : 372). The phonological word boundary is inserted at the beginning and end of every string dominated by the lexical category.

The other subset of the readjustment rules are variously called morpheme structure rules (Halle, 1959), morpheme structure conditions (Stanley, 1967), and lexical redundancy rules (Chomsky and Halle, 1968). This subset of readjustment rules apply strictly within a lexical item and fill in all the feature values that are left unspecified in the non-redundant lexical matrices. They do not map one level of representation to another level of representation like phonological rules but state the redundancies which exist at a single level. The output of the lexical redundancy rules is the systematic phonemic level. They also function as filters to allow only the acceptable matrices (Chomsky and Halle, 1968 : 388).

The syntactic surface structure is the unmodified output of the transformational component, but it is readjusted for the operation of the phonological rules by means of readjustment rules. The readjustment rules also construct new feature matrices for certain strings of lexical and grammatical formatives (Chomsky and Halle, 1968 : 10). For example, the verb *naṭak* 'to walk' appears in the lexicon with a certain feature matrix like other strong verbs, such as *paṭik* 'to read', *kuṭik* 'to drink', etc. The syntactic surface structure of the verbs *kutitta:n* 'he drank', *paṭitta:n* 'he read', are

$$\begin{array}{c} \bar{V} [V^{[patik]} V^{past}]_V \\ V [V^{[kutik]} V^{past}]_V \end{array} \quad \text{and}$$

respectively where the formative [past] is abstract. The readjustment rules replace past by the features [t] for the strong verbs in Tamil.

2.2.5. Segment Structure

The phonetic segments which constitute the formatives are treated as complexes of features because they can be grouped more naturally by using the features. A theory of a language can be said to be incapable of attaining the level of explanatory adequacy when it failed to make distinctions between more or less natural classes of segments (Chomsky and Halle, 1968 : 335). The natural classes are formulated by empirical evidence provided for the formulation of phonological processes. A set of segments is more natural when they share a large number of features.

2.2.6. Phonological and Phonetic Correlation

The features used in the phonetic matrix are physically defined phonetic features. The features which play in the classificatory function are the phonological features. The phonological features serve to classify each lexical item in such a way that it is distinct from every other lexical item. In some cases, there are no phonetic correlates for phonological features. But they are largely the same phonetic features, generally determine the possible systematic phonemic features.

2.2.7. Phonetic Representation

The phonetic representation is sequences of discrete phonetic segments. Each phonetic segment is composed of a particular set of phonetic features. These phonetic features are subject to certain specific

constraints in their simultaneous and their sequential combinations. If, for example, a segment is [+back], it will be [+round] in Tamil, but, if a segment is [+high], it cannot be [+low] in any language. These conditions on simultaneous occurrence of features are thus language particular as well as language universal. One of the sequential constraints is to determine the maximal length of a sequence of phonetic segments. For example, in Tamil, the maximal length of [+syllabic] phonetic segments is [+syllabic] [+syllabic]; but the maximal length of [+consonantal] phonetic segments is [+consonantal] [+consonantal] [+consonantal] where the point of articulation of the last two segments is the same.

2.3. Phonological Segments of Tamil

The phonological segments are given below:

2.3.1. Vowels

		<i>Front</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Back</i>
High	Short :	i		u
	Long :	i:		u:
Mid	Short :	e		o
	Long :	e:		o:
Low	Short :		a	
	Long :		a:	

2.3.2. Consonants

			Bl.	LDL	DL	Al.	Ret.	Pl.	Vel.
Stops	Vi.	:	p		t	<u>l</u>	ʈ		k
	Vd.	:	b		d		ɖ		g
Affricates	Vi.	:							ʧ
	Vd.	:							ʤ
Fricatives	Vi.	:					ʃ		
	Vd.	:			v				
Nasals		:	Vd.	:	m		<u>n</u>	ɳ	ɲ
Laterals		:					l	ɭ	
Flaps		:					r	ɽ	
Glide		:							y

2.3.3. Phonological Features

The phonological segments of Tamil may be divided into [+syllabic] and [-syllabic]. In Tamil, only vowels form syllabic peaks and hence they are [+syllabic]. The rest of the segments including glide /y/ are [-syllabic].

The [-syllabic] segments are divided into [+sonorant] and [-sonorant]. Nasal, lateral, and some non-lateral segments are [+sonorant]; stops, affricates, and fricatives are [-sonorant] segments. The [+sonorant] and [-sonorant] segments are further divided into [+continuant] and

[-continuant]. Among the [+sonorant] segments, nasals are [-continuant] and lateral and non-lateral segments are [+continuant]. Among the [-sonorant] segments fricatives are [+continuant] and stops and affricates are [-continuant]. The [-sonorant] segments are further divided into [+voice] and [-voice]. All the [+sonorant] segments are [+voice] in Tamil. The above mentioned three features, namely [syllabic], [sonorant] and [continuant] and their representations are given below:

	<i>Syllabic</i>	<i>Sonorant</i>	<i>Continuant</i>
Vowels	+	+	+
Glides	—	+	+
Laterals	—	+	+
Non-laterals	—	—	+
Nasals	—	+	—
Fricatives	—	—	+
Affricates	—	—	—
Stops	—	—	—

The feature [high] distinguishes high vowels /i i: u u:/ from non-high vowels /e e: o o: a a:/ and also differentiates palatal and velar consonants from other consonants.

The feature [low] distinguishes low vowels /a a:/ from non-low vowels /e e: o o: i i: u u:/ and the feature [long] distinguishes long vowels /i: e: a: o: u:/ from short vowels /i e a o u/.

The feature [anterior] distinguishes anterior segments /p b t d ʈ m n l r/ from non-anterior segments. The feature [coronal] distinguishes coronal segments /t d ʈ ɖ ʂ n ɳ ñ l ɭ r ɻ/ from non-coronal segments.

The feature [lateral] distinguishes [lateral] segments /l ʎ/ from non-lateral segments /r ʁ/. The feature [distributed] distinguishes /ʎ/ from /ɹ/.

The above mentioned twelve features are sufficient to distinguish the phonological segments of Tamil. The phonological segments of Tamil and their feature representations are given in the feature matrix.

The features marked in the feature matrix are arrived at by the principle of binary opposition of features. The binary opposition of features is shown in the branching diagram. Some other branching diagrams are also possible but the one which is shown here is more adequate since it is marked with less number of features and this is selected on the basis of the simplicity criterion.

2.3.4. Discussion

The feature [consonantal] divides the phonological segments of Tamil into two: [+consonantal] segments which will refer to all the consonants, and [-consonantal] will refer to all the vowels, just as the feature [syllabic] divides the phonological segments into two as shown earlier. This shows that it is possible to take any one of the two features. Which one of the two features should be preferred? What is the validity of selecting one feature over the other?

Let us see what happens if the feature [consonantal] is taken into account instead of the feature [syllabic]. Both the segments /i/ and /y/ are represented with the features [-consonantal, +sonorant, +high, +continuant]. Within this feature system whatever feature is applicable to /i/ is also applicable to /y/. So, it is not possible to differentiate these two segments if the feature [consonantal] is taken into account. On the other hand, if the feature [syllabic] is taken into account, it is possible to differentiate /i/ and /y/ easily. /i/ is [+syllabic] and /y/ is [-syllabic].

By introducing the feature [syllabic] instead of the feature [consonantal] raises some other problems. For example, the non-lateral continuants, such as /l ɾ ʎ/ are represented by the features [-syllabic, +sonorant, +continuant] and /y/ is also represented by the same set of features. However, this problem may be solved by adding the features, like [lateral] etc. For example, /y/ may be represented by the features [-syllabic, +sonorant, +continuant, -lateral] whereas /l/ may be represented by the features [-syllabic, +sonorant, +continuant, +lateral]. This may raise another problem because /y, ɾ, ʎ/ are all [-lateral] segments. However, this may be solved by taking the feature [high] into account here. For example, /y/ is [+high] but /ɾ and ʎ/ are [-high]. So, the feature [syllabic] is more adequate than the feature [consonantal] here.

Though there is a difference in the manner of production of stops and affricates, they behave alike in Tamil. For example, /tʃ/ behaves like any other stop in voicing process when it occurs after a nasal consonant and in becoming continuant when it occurs between vowels. Further, there are no stops at the palatal region to contrast with the affricates. So, the affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ may be treated as stops from the functional point of view. Then, the feature [delayed release] which distinguishes affricates from stops, may be avoided at the phonological level.

The feature [nasal] is not included in this feature system, because it is not necessary at the phonological level. Though nasal consonants and lateral consonants are [+sonorant], nasal consonants are [-continuant] whereas [lateral] consonants are [+continuant]. Though stops also [-continuant] like nasals, they are [-sonorant]. Thus it is possible to differentiate nasals from non-nasals at the classificatory level without the feature [nasal].

In Tamil, there are back rounded and unrounded vowels. So, the feature [round] is necessary to distinguish the rounded vowels /u, o/ from the unrounded vowel /a/. On the other hand, these vowels may be differentiated on the basis of their height also where /u/ is a high vowel,

/o/ is a mid vowel and /a/ is a low vowel. Lip rounding has a binary distinction whereas vowel height has a three way distinction. With the help of the feature [high] alone, the three vowels cannot be differentiated. So, the feature [low] must be taken into account here. Though both the features, namely [round] and [low] are necessary to distinguish these vowels at the phonetic level, any one of them will be sufficient at the phonological level. The question here is which one of the two features is appropriate.

If the feature [round] is taken into account instead of the feature [low], it seems, it is difficult to distinguish /e/ from /a/, because both the vowels represent the features [-high, -back, -round]. If the feature [low] is taken into account, it is possible to distinguish /e/ from /a/ without any problem. /e/ may represent the features [-high, -back, -low], whereas /a/ may represent the features [+low, -back]. Further, the height of the vowel /a/ is not expressed if the feature [low] is not taken into account here. On this basis, the feature [low] is preferred rather than [round].

2.4. Phonetic¹ Features of Tamil Sounds

Utterances are composed of sequences of segments called the speech sounds. The speech sounds are regarded as complexes of features. The features have three functions, viz., Phonetic function, Phonemic function and Classificatory function. The features, in the phonetic function, describe the actual pronunciation of the sounds; in their phonemic function, they differentiate the lexical items; and in their classificatory function, define the natural classes of sounds which undergo similar phonological processes. The features in their phonetic function have more than two values but in their classificatory or phonemic functions, they have only two values.

The binary value of a particular feature is its presence or absence. The features state the phonetic differences between the sounds and they

are based on the acoustic as well as articulatory properties of the sounds. This study follows largely the feature system proposed in *The Sound Pattern of English* by Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle (1968).

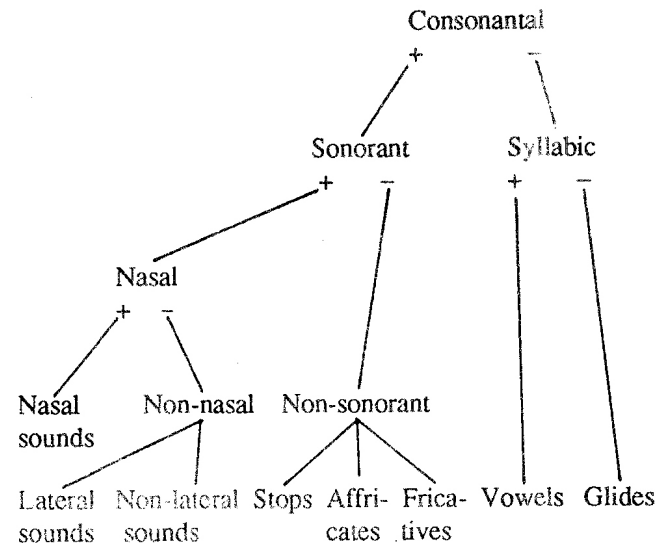
The three major class features which are used to classify the segments are consonantal/non-consonantal, sonorant/non-sonorant and syllabic/non-syllabic. Stops, affricates, fricatives, nasals and liquids are consonantal, whereas vowels are non-consonantal. Vowels, glides, nasals and liquids are sonorants, whereas stops, affricates and fricatives are non-sonorants. Vowels are syllabic and glides are non-syllabic. These three major class features may be shown in a matrix as seen below:

	<i>Syllabic</i>	<i>Sonorant</i>	<i>Consonantal</i>
Vowels	+	+	—
Glides	—	+	—
Liquids	—	+	+
Nasals	—	+	+
Fricatives	—	—	+
Affricates	—	—	+
Stops	—	—	+

According to Shanmugadas (1972), the features consonantal/non-consonantal are sufficient to differentiate consonants and vowels in Tamil and it is not necessary to have syllabic/non-syllabic features also. The feature [syllabic] is necessary to differentiate vowels from glides. But for Shanmugadas the glide [y] behaves like a consonant. Though the feature [consonantal] for [y] is appropriate from its functional point of view, it fails to capture the phonetic value of the sound. The feature system must be appropriate not only from the functional or phonological point of view but also from the phonetic point of view. So,

the feature [syllabic] must be included in the feature system. In the Chomsky and Halle (1968) system, the feature [vocalic] is used. Later, it is replaced by the feature [syllabic] to characterize all segments constituting syllabic peak. Vowels are generally [+syllabic]. In some languages, liquids and nasals form syllabic peak and therefore they are [+syllabic] sounds. Glides are [-syllabic] sounds. In Tamil, all the liquids, nasals and glides are [-syllabic] since they do not form syllabic peak. Only, the vowels form syllabic peak and so they are [+syllabic] sounds.

The liquids, nasals, and glides are generally voiced and they are sonorants. Stops, affricates and fricatives, are non-sonorants. Stops, affricates, fricatives, nasals, and liquids are consonantal because they are produced with constriction in the oral cavity and the constriction may lead to a total closure as in the case of stops and affricates or may lead to a partial closure as in the case of fricatives. The vowels and glides are produced without the constriction in the oral cavity and so they are non-consonantal sounds. The sounds of Tamil may be classified based on the three major class features as shown below:



The sounds which are necessary to specify the systematic phonetic representation of both Formal and Informal Tamil are given below:

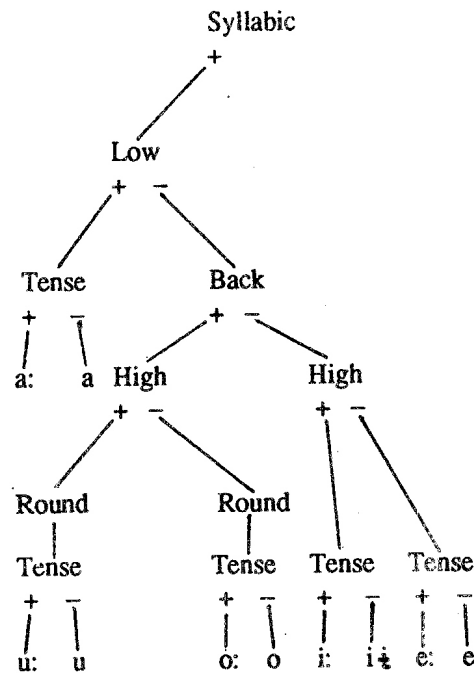
Vowels :

i, i:, ɪ, e, e:, u, u:, o, o:, a, a:

Consonants :

p, t, ʈ, ʈ, c, k, b, d, ɖ, g, j, ɟ, ʃ, x, v, m, n, ŋ, ɱ, ɳ, l, ɭ, r, ʀ, w, y.

Now, let us see the features which are necessary to differentiate vowels. The body of tongue features, namely [high], [low] and [back] are necessary to distinguish the vowels. These three tongue features are defined on the basis of the position and direction of the movement from the neutral position of the tongue. The neutral position of the tongue is described as the position for the vowel [e] in the English word 'bed' (Chomsky and Halle, 1968). If the tongue moves above the neutral position to produce a vowel, that vowel is said to be [high]; if the tongue moves low from the neutral position, that vowel is said to be [low]; and if the tongue moves back from the neutral position, that vowel is said to be [back]. The high vowels [i, u, ɪ] are [+high] and the low vowel [a] is [-low] and the mid vowels [e, o] are [-high, -low]. The back vowels are produced with the rounding of lips, and the front vowels are produced without lip rounding. So, the feature [round] is necessary to differentiate the rounded vowels from the unrounded vowels. The differentiation of vowels with the help of these features may be seen in the tree-diagram given below:



The vowels may be distinguished by these features as shown in the feature matrix.

	<i>i</i>	<i>i:</i>	<i>i+</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e:</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u:</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o:</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a:</i>
High	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
Low	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
Back	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
Round	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
Tense	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+

The articulators are tense or stiff in the production of the long vowels and lax in the production of short vowels. The feature [tense] differentiates long vowels from short vowels.

Now, let us see the features which are necessary to differentiate the consonants. Stops and affricates are non-continuant and fricatives are continuants. So, the feature [continuant] can differentiate fricatives from stops and affricates. Stops may be differentiated from affricates by the feature [abrupt release] since the release of the arrested air in the production of stops is 'abrupt' but it is 'delayed' in the case of affricates. These two features, namely [continuant] and [abrupt release] are necessary to differentiate the obstruents. The sounds and the features are given below in the feature matrix:

	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t̪</i>	<i>t̪ʃ</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>ʃ</i>
Abrupt release	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Continuant	-	-	-	-	-	-	+

The matrix shows that these features are not sufficient to make differentiation within the classes. So, features based on the point of articulation are necessary. The feature [anterior] differentiates sounds that are produced in front of alveo-palatal region and those sounds which are produced at the back of the alveo-palatal region. The feature [coronal] differentiates sounds that are produced with raised tongue tip and those sounds which are not produced with raised tongue tip. In other words, the consonants are classified into [coronal] and [non-coronal] on the basis of the position of the tip of the tongue from the neutral position. The features [anterior] and [coronal] characterise the consonants as shown below:

	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t̪</i>	<i>t̪ʃ</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d̪</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>ʂ</i>
Anterior	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
Coronal	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+

	x	v	m	n	ɳ	ṇ	l	ɭ	ʎ	r	w	y
Anterior	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
Coronal	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-

The stops [t] and [ɭ] are to be differentiated since both are [+anterior] and [+coronal]. For this, the feature [distributed]² may be used. Distributed sounds are produced with a constriction that extends for a considerable distance whereas non-distributed sounds are produced with a constriction that extends for a short distance (Chomsky and Hale, 1968 : 312). According to this, the dental stop is [+distributed] and alveolar and retroflex stops are [-distributed].

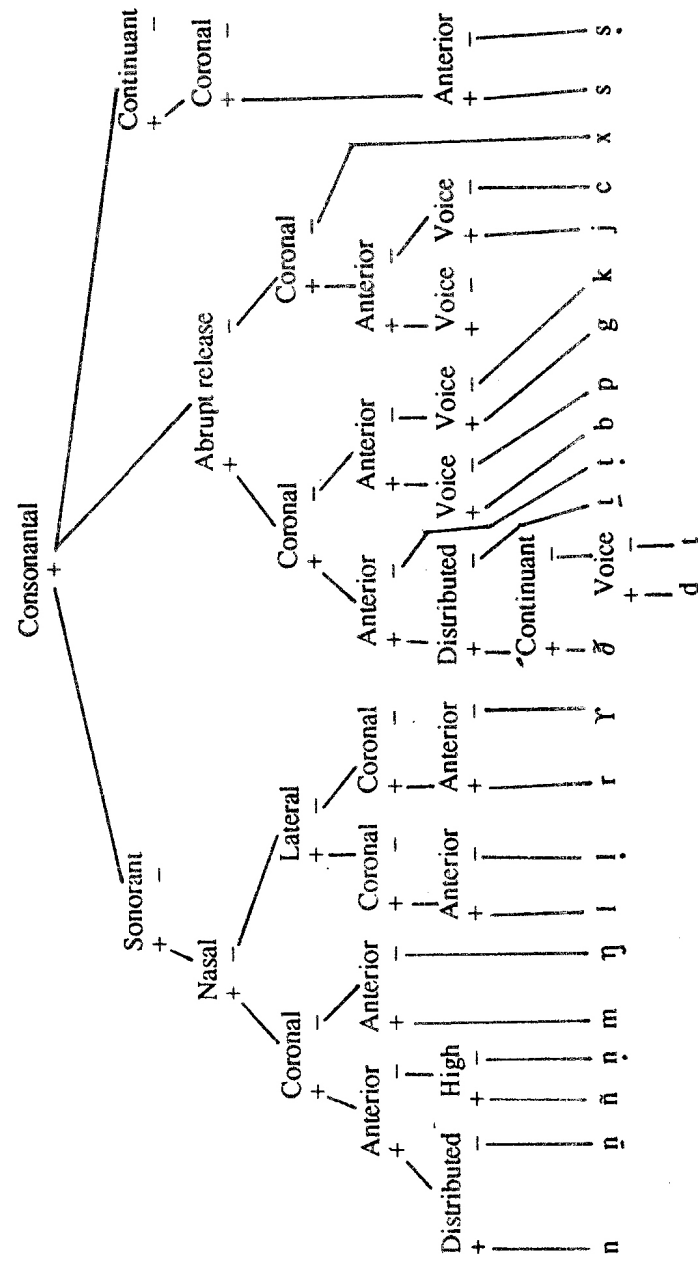
The features, namely [high], [low] and [back] are the body of tongue features and are used to differentiate vowels. The features [high] and [back] also are used to differentiate [c] and [k]. The front of the tongue is high and forward from the neutral position in the production of [c]. So, it would be characterized as [+high] and [-back]. The back of the tongue is high from the neutral position in the production of [k]. So, it would be characterized as [+high] and [+back]. The same features may be used to distinguish palatal and velar nasals.

To differentiate nasals from laterals the features, namely [nasal] and [lateral] may be used. These features may also be used to differentiate [r] and [ʎ] from lateral sounds. The lateral sounds [l] and [ɭ] would be characterized as [+lateral] and the non-lateral sounds [r] and [ʎ] would be characterized as [-lateral] and [-nasal].

The feature [voice] differentiates voiced sounds from voiceless sounds. Sonorants are voiced sounds.

The features [tense] and [lax] are necessary to characterize consonants also. The difference between them is in the manner in which

the articulatory movement is carried out. The movement of the articulatory organs is rapid in the case of [lax] consonants but it is slow in the case of [tense] consonants. So, the [tense] consonants have longer duration whereas the [lax] consonants have shorter duration. The following tree diagram will give grouping of sounds and the possible characterization of features of Tamil sounds.



There are short and long vowels in Tamil. The difference between short and long vowels is maintained in orthography also. In the same way, single and geminated consonants are differentiated orthographically. However, it has been considered by some scholars (Balasubramanian, 1969) that "the opposition between orthographic single and orthographic double plosive symbols is as between 'short' and 'long' or between 'voice' and 'voiceless' rather than between single and geminated.

The word medial consonant clusters, in Tamil, may be grouped into three: geminated consonants, classified as C_1C_1 ; heterorganic two consonant clusters, classified as C_1C_2 ; and three consonant clusters, classified as $C_1C_2C_2$.

The geminated consonants of the class C_1C_1 are pp, tt, tt̃, cc, kk, mm, nn, nñ, ll, ll̃ as seen in the words kappal 'ship', pattu 'ten', pa:ttu 'song', paccai 'green', akka 'elder sister', amma 'mother', munna:l 'before', kaṇṇu 'eye', kallu 'stone', muḷḷu 'thorn'

The heterorganic two consonant clusters of the class C_1C_2 are mp, np, nt, nk, ṇk, lt, lp, etc., as seen in the words ampu 'arrow', anpu 'love', ma:nto:l 'deer skin', ma:nkompu 'deer horn', maṇkuṭam 'earthen pot', kaltu:ṇ 'iron pillar', muḷputar 'thorny bush'.

The three consonant clusters of the class $C_1C_2C_2$ are rpp, rtt, rtt̃, rkk, etc., as seen in the words pa:rppa:n 'he will see', pa:rtta:n 'he saw', va:Yttu 'greeting', va:Ykkai 'life', va:Ynta:n 'he lived', ca:yntatu 'it fell', va:yttatu 'it secured'.

Orthographically, the geminated consonants and the heterorganic two consonant clusters are two symbols and the three consonant clusters are three symbols. What is the linguistic explanation to accept them as two consonant clusters and three consonant clusters?

Syllabification may help to decide the number of units at the phonological level in the geminated consonant clusters in the heterorganic two consonant clusters and in three consonant clusters.

The word 'kappal' may be syllabified as kap-pal where the medial geminated consonants are treated as two short phonological units since one /p/ acts as coda of the first syllable and the other /p/ acts as onset of the following syllable. In the same way, words like kaṇṇil, kallil, muḷḷil may be syllabified as kaṇ- ṇil, kal-lil and muḷ-ḷil.

The syllabification of the words like kal-tu:ṇ will be kal-tu:ṇ where the /l/ acts as coda of the first syllable and /t/ acts as onset of the following syllable. There is no doubt in syllabifying the words like kal-tu:ṇ as kal-tu:ṇ because, it consists of two simple words kal and tu:ṇ. So the medial cluster has to be treated as two phonological units. Syllabification also treats them as two phonological units. All the words which have heterorganic two consonant clusters in the middle may be syllabified like this.

On the basis of syllabification principle, the medial geminated consonants like [pp] may be treated as two phonological units since one /p/ acts as coda of the first syllable and the other /p/ acts as onset of the second syllable. So, it may be stated that the geminated consonants are two units at the phonological level. This supports the view of orthography which has two symbols for geminated consonants.

Phonological change also supports the view that the geminated consonants are two short units rather than single long unit. In some cases, as shown below, the geminated consonants are the result of assimilation of two consonants.

naṭ+t+a:l	→	naṭ+t+a:l	→	naṭṭa:l	'she planted'
viṭ+t+a:n	→	viṭ+t+a:n	→	viṭṭa:n	'he left'
ke:t+t+a:n	→	ke:t+t+a:n	→	ke:ṭṭa:n	'he asked'

maram+kiḷai	→	marakkiḷai	'branch of a tree'
kuḷam+karai	→	kuḷakkarai	'bank of the pond'

In spoken Tamil, the geminated nasals [nn] are the result of the assimilation of two consonants, as in:

konta:n	→	konna:n	'he killed'
tinta:n	→	tinna:n	'he ate'
ninta:n	→	ninna:n	'he stood'
tenṭal	→	tennal	'breeze'

The available experimental phonetic studies also claim that the geminated consonants in Tamil are two short units rather than a single long unit. "Geminated consonants are produced by two articulations at the same point of articulation without noticeable break in Tamil and it can be assumed that [pp], [tt] and [kk] are phonetically double consonants. The duration of the double non-obstruent consonants is also as twice as that of the single non-obstruent consonants" (Shanmugasadas, 1972). According to Balasubramanian (1979) the duration of the geminated consonants like [pp] is similar to orthographic NP, NN, or LL (Nasal+Plosive, Nasal+Nasal, Lateral+Lateral). There is no doubt to consider NP, NN and LL as two phonological units. In the same way, he has treated the orthographically doubled voiceless plosive symbols as geminated consonants.

However, the syllable division of the words which have three consonant clusters in the word medial position poses a problem here. For example, the geminated consonants, such as pp, tt, kk, etc., go to one syllable unlike in the earlier cases. The syllabification of the words may be · par-r-tta:n, par-ppa:n, va:Y-kkai, va:Y-ttu, etc. Whether the geminated consonants could be treated as single unit or two units.

Since Tamil does not allow consonant clusters in the word initial or syllable initial position, the geminated consonants of the three

consonant clusters in the word medial position may be treated as single long or tense stop phonologically.

To support this view, if we compare /t/ and /tt/ in the words, such as va:Ytal 'living', va:Yttu 'greeting', ce:rtal 'reaching', ce:rttal 'joining', the difference is between voiced and voiceless, though orthographically they are single and geminated consonants respectively. It shows that phonologically the geminated consonants are two short units but phonetically they are single long unit or tense unit³.

Phonetic Feature Matrix for Vowels of Tamil

	i	i:	ɨ	e	e:	u	u:	o	o:	a	a:
Syllabic	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
High	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
Low	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
Back	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
Round	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
Tense	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+

3

PHONOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION

3.1. Formal Tamil

3.1.1. Redundancy Rules

The readjustment rules provide a link between syntax and phonology. They modify the syntactically generated surface structure and convert the string of formatives into phonological representation. The rules which restrict the class of possible lexical items by eliminating certain possibilities which fill in unspecified phonological features are called lexical redundancy rules. They are also called Morpheme Structure Rules (Halle, 1959) and Morpheme Structure Conditions (Stanley, 1967). They are a sub-part of readjustment rules.

Every language has systematic constraints on the phoneme sequence of a morpheme. That is, all possible sequences of phonemes do not form the morphemes of a language. The redundancy rules apply to the individual lexical items predicting the sequential restrictions and they specify combination of the phonological features of segments. They thus define 'possible morphemes' of a language. The redundancy rules do not map from one level of representation to another level of representation like the phonological rules but state the redundancies which exist at a single level, the systematic phonemic level. There are

scholars (Shibatani, 1973) who claim that there are constraints at the systematic phonetic level also. But the present analysis follows the sound pattern of English and states the redundancy at the systematic phonemic level.

3.1.1.1. Segment Redundancy Rules

The segment redundancy rules are blank filling rules filling in unspecified features on segments in isolation without referring to the context. For example, in Tamil the vowels are [+voice], the sonorants are [-syllabic], [-back] vowels are [-round] etc.

3.1.1.2. Sequence Redundancy Rules

The sequence redundancy rules state constraints on the sequences of segments. For example, in the reading pronunciation of Formal Tamil the words begin either with a vowel or a single consonant except a few loan words like kra:mam 'village', prava:kam 'flood', etc. This constraint may be stated as

$$1. [\text{seg}] \rightarrow [-\text{syll}]_0^1 / \# \text{ — } [+ \text{syll}]$$

All the words in Formal Tamil end in a sonorant except a few loan words like bas 'bus', etc. This may be stated as

$$2. [+ \text{cons}] \rightarrow [+ \text{son}] / \text{ — } \#$$

This redundancy rule defines the set of possible morphemes in a language. The redundancy rules predict that in Tamil *pu cannot be a possible morpheme because the features [+back] [-round] for the vowel violates the segment redundancy rule which states that [+back] vowels are always [+round]. *kat cannot be a possible morpheme in Formal Tamil because it violates the sequence redundancy rule which states that the segment in the word final position must be [+son].

3.1.2. Boundaries

Boundaries are necessary to state the operation of phonological rules. For example, in $col\#ta:n \rightarrow colda:n$ 'word itself' there must be a internal word boundary between col 'word' and $ta:n$ 'itself' to change $[t]$ to $[d]$. When the boundary is a morpheme boundary $[l]$ will change into $[t]$ as in $vil+t+a:n \rightarrow vitta:n$ 'he sold'. When the boundary is a word boundary no change takes place as in $kal\#tu:n \rightarrow kalu:n$ 'rock pillar'.

The next higher boundary to the word boundary is the phonological phrase boundary or major pause boundary. This boundary defines the units of the maximal domain of phonological process. The rules which include the phonological phrase boundary mostly relate to the prosodic features. It is the maximal stretch of a single intonation contour. The present study does not include prosodic features.

Apart from the morpheme boundary, internal word boundary, and word boundary, Tamil needs sub-morphemic boundary (-). The insertion of $[u]$ rule is a phonological rule and the inserted $[u]$ is a phonetic segment and does not have any meaning of its own (Annamalai, 1975).

The word final sonorant doubles in Informal Tamil when it is followed by a morpheme boundary and a vowel as in $kal+e \rightarrow kalle$ 'stone' (acc.). The doubling takes place even when $[u]$ is inserted as in $kal-u \rightarrow kallu$ 'stone'. If there is no boundary the doubling cannot be accounted for since in a word $[u]$ follows single consonants as in $kolu$ 'doll arrangement'. Because of this consideration sub-morphemic boundary has been set up before inserting $[u]$ (Annamalai, 1975). It is not necessary, however, to set up this unnatural boundary if $[u]$ is treated as a morpheme. It is a morpheme indicating participle in $vant-u$ 'having come'.

3.1.3. Systematic Phonemes

3.1.3.1. Vowels

			<i>Front</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Back</i>
High	Short	:	i		u
	Long	:	i:		u:
Mid	Short	:	e		o
	Long	:	e:		o:
Low	Short	:		a	
	Long	:		a:	

3.1.3.2. Consonant

			<i>Bl. LDI.</i>	<i>DI. Al.</i>	<i>Ret.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Vel.</i>
Stop	Vl.	:	p	t	ṭ		k
	Vd.	:	b	d			g
Affricate	Vl.	:				c	
	Vd.	:				j	
Fricative	Vl.	:			ʃ		
	Vd.	:		v			
Nasal	:		m		n	ṇ	ṇ̃
Lateral	:				l	ḷ	
Non-lateral	:				r	ɽ	
Semi-vowel	:						y

The phonological rules apply as mentioned earlier on the systematic phonemes and change, add or delete features. They may apply in a particular order to derive the surface phonetic representations.

3.1.4. Phonological Rules

ca:riyai insertion

ca:riyai is an empty unit with no meaning of its own. The polysyllabic nouns which end in /am/ take /tt/ before case markers. The insertion of /tt/ after the /am/ ending nouns does not make any difference in the meaning. The insertion of /tt/ may be shown as a rule like this:

$$[\emptyset] \rightarrow [tt] / [am] \text{ --- + case}$$

By another rule /m/ is deleted before /tt/ since three consonant clusters are not allowed in Formal Tamil.

Examples:

maram+ukku	→	maram-tt-ukku	'to the tree'
va:nam+ukku	→	va:nam-tt-ukku	'to the sky'
manam+ai	→	manam-tt-ai	'the mind' (acc.)
kuṇam+a:l	→	kuṇam-tt-a:l	'by quality'
inam+uṭan	→	inam-tt-uṭan	'with the creed'

The final /t/ and /t/ of nouns double before case markers as in the following examples:

a:t+ukku	→	a:t-t-ukku	'to the river'
kiṇat+ukku	→	kiṇat-t-ukku	'to the well'
ma:t+ukku	→	ma:t-t-ukku	'to the cattle'
vi:t+ukku	→	vi:t-t-ukku	'to the house'
ka:t+ukku	→	ka:t-t-ukku	'to the forest'

This doubling can be accounted for by the ca:riyai insertion.

1. a:t-tt-ukku (ca:riyai insertion)
2. a:t-tt-ukku (assimilation)
3. a:t_{tt}ukku (cluster reduction)

1. ma:t-tt-ukku (ca:riyai insertion)
2. ma:t-tt-ukku (assimilation)
3. ma:ttukku (cluster reduction)

This doubling can be accounted for by inserting /t/ instead of /tt/ rule also. This will eliminate the need for consonant cluster reduction. But there is no evidence for the insertion of /t/. But there is evidence for cluster reduction in the historical rule of NPP → PP (Kumarasami Raja, 1971) in Tamil. Moreover, when the nouns are verbalised they take /tt/ for past tense and delete the word final /m/.

- maram-tt-atu → marattatu 'became numb'
 maṇam-tt-atu → maṇattatu 'was fragrant'
 kanam-tt-atu → kanattatu 'was heavy'

The ca:riyai insertion may be stated by a rule like this:

$$1. \quad \emptyset \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \\ + \text{distri} \end{array} \right]_2 / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{syll} \\ + \text{back} \\ + \text{low} \\ - \text{long} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{son} \\ + \text{ant} \end{array} \right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \end{array} \right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{conti} \\ - \text{ant} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \left[- + [\text{case}] \right]$$

/in/¹ is also ca:riyai like /tt/. It is inserted after the ca:riyai/tt/ in some cases and in some other cases directly after the nouns.

- coll-in-ai 'word' (acc.)
 eYutt-in-ai 'letter' (acc.)
 maram-tt-in-ai 'tree' (acc.)

Insertion of /in/ is optional.

coll-ai	'word' (acc.)
eYutt-ai	'letter' (acc.)
maram-tt-ai	'tree' (acc.)

Glide Insertion

The glides [y] and [w] are inserted between a front vowel and a vowel and between a back vowel and a vowel respectively. In other words, if the preceding vowel is non-back, the inserted glide is high, non-back [y]; if the preceding vowel is back including /a/, the inserted glide is high, back [w].

$$2. \quad \emptyset \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{son} \\ + \text{conti} \\ + \text{high} \\ \alpha \text{back} \end{array} \right] / \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{syll} \\ \alpha \text{back} \end{array} \right] + \text{---} [+ \text{syll}]$$

Examples:

t̤alai+a:l	→	talai-y-a:l	'with the head'
katti+a:l	→	katti-y-a:l	'with the knife'
cilai+ai	→	cilai-y-ai	'statue' (acc.)
pu:+il	→	pu:-w-il	'in the flower'
pu:+o:tu	→	pu:-w-o:tu	'with the flower'
amma+o:tu	→	amma-w-o:tu	'with mother'

Tensing of Sonorants.

The word final sonorants except [-lateral] sounds, in monosyllabic words having short vowel become tense before a morpheme boundary and a vowel.

$$3. \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{son} \\ + \text{voice} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \phantom{- \text{syll}} \\ \phantom{+ \text{son}} \\ \phantom{+ \text{voice}} \end{array} \right]_2^2 / \text{---} [+ \text{syll}]$$

Examples:

eṇ+uṭan	→	eṇ-ṇ-uṭan	'with the number'
kaṇ:il	→	kaṇ-ṇ-il	'in the eye'
puṇ+il	→	puṇ-ṇ-il	'in the wound'
nam+uṭan	→	nam-m-uṭan	'with us'
muḷ+a:l	→	muḷ-l-a:l	'with the thorn'
koḷ+ai	→	koḷ-l-ai	'horsegram' (acc.)
kaḷ+a:l	→	kaḷ-l-a:l	'with the stone'
col+ai	→	col-l-ai	'word' (acc.)
kay+a:l	→	kay-y-a:l	'with hand'
cey+a:mal	→	cey-y-a:mal	'without doing'

Voicing

Voiceless obstruent non-continuants become voiced after nasal consonants.

$$4. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{conti} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+ \text{voice}] / \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{son} \\ - \text{conti} \end{bmatrix} \text{ ---}$$

Examples:

tampi	→	tambi	'younger brother'
vantu	→	vandu	'having come'
vaṇṭi	→	vaṇḍi	'cart'
paṇṭu	→	paṇḍu	'cotton'
tankam	→	taṇḡam	'gold'

In compound words with internal word boundary voicing is optional.

maṇ#i kuṭicai	→	maṇkuticai, maṇguticai	'hut made of mud walls'
ma:n#i kombu	→	ma:nkompu, ma:ngompu	'horn of deer'

Fricativization

/t/ becomes [θ] in the intervocal position.

$$5. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \\ + \text{distri} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{conti} \\ + \text{voice} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{matrix} [+ \text{syll}] - [+ \text{syll}] \end{matrix}$$

Examples:

atu	→	aθu	'that'
ma:tam	→	ma:θam	'mouth'
pa:ti	→	pa:θi	'half'
ka:tu	→	ka:θu	'ear'
nati	→	naθi	'river'

/k/ becomes [x] in the intervocal position and between non- nasal sonorants and vowels.

$$6. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ + \text{conti} \\ + \text{high} \\ + \text{back} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+ \text{conti}] / \left\{ \begin{matrix} [+ \text{syll}] - [+ \text{syll}] \\ \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{son} \\ + \text{conti} \\ - \text{high} \end{bmatrix} + \text{---} \end{matrix} \right\}$$

Examples:

pakal	→	paxal	'day'
pa:kam	→	pa:xam	'part'
nakam	→	naxam	'nail'
me:kam	→	me:xam	'cloud'
a:|+kir+a:n	→	a:|xira:n	'he rules'
col+kir+a:n	→	colxira:n	'he says'
va:Y+kir+a:n	→	va:Yxira:n	'he lives'
ce:r+kir+a:n	→	ce:rxira:n	'he reaches'

/c/ becomes /s/ in between vowels and in the word initial position.

$$7. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{conti} \\ + \text{high} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \end{bmatrix} / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \# - \\ [+ \text{syll}] - [+ \text{syll}] \end{array} \right\}$$

Examples:

ciru	→	siru	'small'
caṅkam	→	saṅgam	'organization'
co:ṭu	→	so:ru	'cooked rice'
cantanam	→	sandanam	'sandal paste'
caṭṭi	→	saṭṭi	'earthen vessel'
pacu	→	pasu	'cow'
a:cai	→	a:sai	'desire'
kacappu	→	kasappu	'bitterness'
karaical	→	karaisal	'solution'
va:ricu	→	va:risu	'descendent'

Becoming Continuant

/ɭ/ becomes /r/ in the intervocal position.

$$8. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{son} \\ + \text{voice} \\ + \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ - \text{lat} \end{bmatrix} / [+ \text{syll}] - [+ \text{syll}]$$

Examples:

a:ṭu	→	a:ru	'river'
co:ṭu	→	co:ru	'cooked rice'
ma:ṭu	→	ma:ru	'to change'
kiṇaṭu	→	kiṇaru	'well'
maṭati	→	maṭaṭi	'forgetfulness'
kutai	→	kurai	'defect'

Though /ɹ/ is never realized as a stop in the surface phonetic level, it must be treated as a stop in the underlying representation for the following reasons. It behaves like a stop in the distribution in that like all stops, it does not occur in the word final position. Traditional grammars group it with stops. It behaves like stops in certain morphophonemic alterations like doubling before case markers (Schiffman, 1975).

cot:+ukku → cottukku 'to the cooked rice'
 a:t+ukku → a:ttukku 'to the river'
 kinat+il → kinattil 'in the well'

But /r/ does not double.

u:r+ukku → u:rukku 'to the village'
 u:r+il → u:ril 'in the village'
 e:r+ukku → e:rukku 'to the plough'
 uyir+ukku → uyirukku 'to the life'
 ni:r+ai → ni:rai 'water' (acc.)

Therefore some /r/'s must be treated as /ɹ/ at the phonemic level.

De-distribution

In the process of assimilation, the dental sounds become alveolar when they occur after alveolar sound.

$$9. \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \\ + \text{distri} \end{array} \right]_2^2 \rightarrow \left[- \text{distri} \right]_2^2 / \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{son} \\ + \text{corti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{lat} \end{array} \right] + \text{---}$$

Examples:

kal+tt+a:n → *kal+tt+a:n 'he learned'
 vil+tt+a:n → *vil+tt+a:n 'he sold'
 cel+nt+a:n → *cel+nt+a:n 'he went'
 nil+nt+a:n → *nil+nt+a:n 'he stood'

After the application of the rule of sonorant deletion (Rule 15) on these forms one gets the derived forms katta:n, vitta:n, centa:n and ninta:n.

Retroflexion

The non-coronal sounds change into coronal sounds when they occur after coronal sounds.

$$10. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \end{bmatrix}_1^2 \rightarrow [- \text{ant}]_1^2 / \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \end{bmatrix} + \text{---}$$

Examples:

naṭ+t+a:l	→	naṭ+t+a:l	'she planted'
viṭ+t+a:n	→	viṭ+t+a:n	'he left'
toṭ+t+a:l	→	toṭ+t+a:l	'she touched'
koḷ+nt+a:n	→	*koḷ+ṇt+a:n	'he got'
ke:l+tt+a:n	→	*ke:l+ṭt+a:n	'he asked'
puṛaḷ+nt+atu	→	puṛaḷ+ṇt+atu	'it rolled'

These forms *koḷṇṭa:n, ke:lṭṭa:n, puṛaḷṇṭatu are intermediate forms. The sonorant deletion rule (Rule 15) deletes the lateral sound and gives the forms koṇṭa:n, ke:lṭṭa:n and puṛaṇṭatu.

Develarization

In this process of assimilation, velar stop assimilates with the following dental and labial stops and changes into /t/ and /p/ respectively.

$$11. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ + \text{conti} \\ + \text{high} \\ + \text{back} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+ \text{ant}] / - + \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{past} \end{bmatrix}$$

Examples:

aṭik+t+a:n	→	aṭitta:n	'he beat'
paṭik+t+a:n	→	paṭitta:n	'he read'
kuṭik+t+a:n	→	kuṭitta:n	'he drank'

pa:rk+t+a:!	→	pa:rua:!	'she saw'
koṭuk+p+a:!	→	koṭuppa:!	'she will give'
paṭik+p+a:n	→	paṭippa:n	'he will read'
aṭik+p+a:n	→	aṭippa:n	'he will beat'
eṭuk+p+a:n	→	eṭuppa:n	'he will take'

The internal justification for positing /k/ in the verb stem in the underlying representation is that the verbs which undergo this rule exhibit -k in the infinitive form as shown below. It further reduces the number of past and future tense markers. That is, it is sufficient to have /t/ and /p/ as the past and future tense markers respectively instead of /t/ and /pp/. The following are the infinitive forms:

aṭi-kka	'to beat'
paṭi-kka	'to read'
kuṭi-kka	'to drink'
pa:r-kka	'to see'
koṭu-kka	'to give'
eṭu-kka	'to take'

Dedentalization

The dental stop /t/ assimilates with the preceding /p/ and /k/ and the assimilated sounds are /pp/ and /kk/ respectively.

$$12. \left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \\ + \text{distri} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \alpha \text{nt} \\ \beta \text{cor} \end{array} \right] / \left[\begin{array}{c} \alpha \text{ant} \\ \beta \text{cor} \end{array} \right] + \text{---}$$

Examples:

tirump+t	→	*tirumpp-	'cause to turn'
aṭank+t	→	*aṭankk-	'to control'
kalank+t	→	*kalankk-	'cause to stir'
maṭank+t	→	*maṭankk-	'cause to fold'

kuYamp+t	→	*kuYampp-	'to confuse'
niramp+t	→	*nirampp-	'to fill up'
eYump+t	→	*eYumpp-	'to rise'

The nasal consonants before the obstruent clusters are deleted by the sonorant deletion rule (Rule 15).

The justification for having /t/ as the causative marker is as follows: the verbs like *naṭa* 'to walk', *oṭi* 'to run', *aṭi* 'to cool', have the causative forms as *naṭatt-* 'cause to walk', *oṭti* 'to drive', *aṭti* 'cause to cool'. /t/ is the causative marker in all these examples (Ramaswami, 1982).

Tensing of Obstruents

The stops become tense (geminated) when preceded by internal word boundary (#_i) and a noun in attributive construction.

$$13. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{cont} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+ \text{tense}] / \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{son} \end{bmatrix} \#_i \text{ —}$$

Examples:

nel# _i payir	→	nel# _i ppayir	'paddy crop'
kal# _i tu:ṇ	→	kal# _i ttu:ṇ	'iron pillar'
pal# _i pacai	→	pal# _i ppacai	'tooth paste'
kaṭal# _i karai	→	kaṭal# _i kkarai	'sea-shore'
muḷ# _i putar	→	muḷ# _i pputar	'thorny bush'
maram# _i kilai	→	maram# _i kkilai	'branch of a tree'
kuḷam# _i karai	→	kuḷam# _i kkarai	'bank of the pond'
va:Yai# _i paYam	→	va:Yai# _i ppaYam	'banana'

The grammatical relation of attributive construction must be mentioned because this rule does not operate in other constructions like *kal+ta:n kalta:n* 'it is stone itself' where there is no gemination. In contrast to this, there is gemination in *kal+tu:ṇ→kalttu:ṇ*. Here, the stop

is geminated though it is not realized as seen in the surface after sonorants because there is gemination after vowels as in the last example above and the assimilation discussed in the following rule takes place only before geminated stops.

Delateralization

The lateral consonants become corresponding stops before geminated stops.

$$14. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{son} \\ + \text{conti} \\ \alpha \text{ant} \\ \beta \text{cor} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \text{son} \\ \alpha \text{ant} \\ \beta \text{cor} \end{bmatrix} / \text{ — } [\text{son}]_2^2$$

Examples:

nel#_i ppayir → *netppayir
 kal#_i tu:n → *katttu:n
 pal#_i ppacai → *patppacai
 kaṭal#_i kkarai → *kaṭaṭkkarai
 muḷ#_i pputar → *muṭpputar

One of the geminated stops is deleted by the cluster reduction rule (Rule 18).

Sonorant Deletion

All the sonorant consonants except /ɹ/, /r/ and /y/ are deleted before a consonant cluster.

$$15. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{son} \\ + \text{voice} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [\emptyset] \text{ — } [- \text{syll}] [- \text{syll}]$$

Examples:

aṭankk → aṭakk— 'to control'
 kaḷankk → kaḷakk— 'cause to stir'
 maramkkiḷai → marakkīḷai 'branch of a tree'

ce <u>l</u> nta:n	→	ce <u>n</u> ta:n	'he went'
ko <u>l</u> nta:n	→	ko <u>n</u> ta:n	'he killed'
a: <u>l</u> nta:n	→	a: <u>n</u> ta:n	'he ruled'
ko <u>l</u> nta:n	→	ko <u>n</u> ta:n	'he got'

The sonorants /Y/, /r/ and /y/ are not deleted before consonant clusters.

va:Ykkai	'life'
va:Yntan	'he lived'
vi:Ynta:n	'he fell'
pa:rtta:n	'he saw'
ce:rtta:n	'he joined'
ka:yttatu	'bore fruit'
va:yttatu	'it occurred'
ca:yntatu	'it fell'

Deletion of Dative /u/

The Dative case marker has two forms, viz., /ukk/ and /kk/ in the surface. After nouns ending in front vowel and glide, the initial /u/ of /ukk/ is not present (Annamalai : 1975).

Examples:

tampi+ukk	→	tampikku	'to younger brother'
palli+ukk	→	pallikku	'to the school'
palli+ukk	→	pallikku	'to the lizard'
ta:y+ukk	→	ta:ykku	'to the mother'
alli+ukk	→	allikku	'to the lily'

The Dative /u/ is not deleted in other environments.

Examples:

pacu+ukk	→	pacu-v-ukku	'to the cow'
kocu+ukk	→	kocu-v-ukku	'to the mosquito'
teru+ukk	→	teru-v-ukku	'to the street'
amma+ukk	→	amma-v-ukku	'to the mother'
appa+ukk	→	appa-v-ukku	'to the father'

But there is a problem with the deletion of /u/. The initial /u/ of the genitive case and other morphemes are not deleted after front vowels and glides (Annamalai : 1975).

Examples:

tampi+uṭaya	→	tampi-y-uṭaya	'of younger brother'
aṇṇi+uṭaya	→	aṇṇi-y-uṭaya	'of sister-in-law'
tampi+um	→	tampi-y-um	'younger brother also'
aṇṇi+um	→	aṇṇi-y-um	'sister-in-law also'
alli+um	→	alli-y-um	'lily also'
alli+uṭaya	→	alli-y-uṭaya	'of lily'

It is therefore, necessary to mention the grammatical feature Dative in the rule.

$$16. \begin{bmatrix} + \text{syll} \\ + \text{high} \\ + \text{back} \\ - \text{long} \\ - \text{Dative} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [\emptyset] / \begin{bmatrix} + \text{syll} \\ + \text{high} \\ - \text{back} \\ - \text{long} \end{bmatrix} + \text{---}$$

Insertion of /u/

$$17. [\emptyset] \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{syll} \\ + \text{high} \\ + \text{back} \\ - \text{long} \end{bmatrix} / [- \text{son}] \text{---} +$$

Examples:

a:t	→	a:t <u>u</u>	'river'
keṭ	→	keṭ <u>u</u>	'to spoil'
peṭ	→	peṭ <u>u</u>	'to get'
viṭ	→	viṭ <u>u</u>	'to leave'
ma:t	→	ma:t <u>u</u>	'cattle'
pa:rtt	→	pa:rtt <u>u</u>	'having seen'
ke:t	→	ke:t <u>u</u>	'having asked'
viṭ+v+a:n	→	viṭuva:n	'he will leave'
peṭ+kiṭ+a:n	→	peṭukit <u>u</u> a:n	'he is getting'

/u/ is not present when the following morpheme begins with a vowel or the final consonant of the preceding morpheme is assimilated to the initial consonant of the following morpheme as below:

a:tu+a:	→	a:ta:	'Is it river?'
ma:tu+a:	→	ma:ta:	'Is it cattle?'
keṭu+a	→	keṭa	'to spoil'
naṭu+a	→	naṭa	'to plant'
aḷavu+il	→	aḷavil	'in the measurement'

But there is no way of stopping the insertion of /u/ in these environments. Therefore, the language needs a /u/ deletion rule before vowels. To account for the absence of /u/ in the environment of assimilation is more complicated. The words, such as viṭu 'to leave', paṭu 'to experience', toṭu 'to touch', naṭu 'to plant', etc., have the final /u/ both in the present as well as in the future tenses but deleted before past tense as in

viṭ-t-a:n	'he left'
keṭ-t-a:n	'he got spoiled'

However, the verb keṭu 'to spoil' retains the /u/ in the past tense keṭutta:n 'he spoiled' but deleted in keṭṭa:n. Therefore, it is proposed that the morpheme boundary is deleted when assimilation takes place and there is no environment for the insertion of /u/ (Annamalai, 1975). There are nouns of (C)VC which must have final /u/ in their underlying representation as in the following:

pacu	'cow'
puṭu	'worm'
kocu	'mosquito'
teru	'street'
kolu	'arrangement of doll'

The final /u/ in these words is not deleted before a vowel, but glide [w] is inserted.

pacu+o:tu	→	pacu-w-o:tu	'with the cow'
puYu+o:tu	→	puYu-w-o:tu	'with the worm'
kocu+o:tu	→	kocu-w-o:tu	'with the mosquito'
teru+o:tu	→	teru-w-o:tu	'with the street'
kolu+o:tu	→	kolu-w-o:tu	'with arrangement of dolls'

Cluster Reduction

One of the three stops is deleted since three stop clusters are not allowed. The last stop of the three stop clusters is deleted as seen in the last four examples with initial non- homorganic stop.

$$18. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{conti} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [\emptyset] / \begin{bmatrix} - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{conti} \end{bmatrix}_2 \text{ —}$$

Examples:

*a:ttukku	→	a:ttukku	'to the river'
*ma:ttukku	→	ma:ttukku	'to the cattle'
*kiṇattukku	→	kiṇattukku	'to the well'
*kat̪tu:n	→	kat̪tu:n	'iron pillar'
*paṭppacai	→	paṭpacai	'tooth paste'
*neṭppayir	→	neṭpayir	'paddy crop'
*kaṭaṭkkarai	→	kaṭaṭkarai	'sea shore'
*muṭpputar	→	muṭputar	'thorny bush'

Sonorant deletion rule and the cluster reduction rule do the same function, namely reducing the three consonant clusters into two. The sonorant deletion rule deletes the first sonorant of the three consonants but the cluster reduction rule deletes the last stop of the three stops. Therefore, it is necessary to have two rules for the cluster reduction.

Fronting of /u/

The underlying /u/ is phonetically [ɨ] in all the places except in the initial syllable.

$$19. \begin{bmatrix} + \text{syll} \\ + \text{high} \\ + \text{back} \\ - \text{long} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [- \text{back}]$$

Examples:

itu	→	iɨ	'this'
pacu	→	paɨ	'cow'
etu	→	eɨ	'which'
eɽu	→	eɽi	'to take'
ka:ɽu	→	ka:ɽi	'forest'
koɽutta:n	→	koɽiɽta:n	'he gave'
keɽutta:n	→	keɽiɽta:n	'he spoiled'
aɽu	→	aɽi	'to weep'
aruntu	→	ariɽti	'to drink'
koɽuntu	→	koɽiɽnti	'tender, new'
maruntu	→	maɽiɽti	'medicine'

The fronting of /u/ takes place not only with the underlying /u/ but also with the inserted /u/. Therefore, this rule is necessary.

Affrication

The alveolar stop /t/ is not released abruptly after a consonant resulting in an affricate /tʃ/. The preceding consonant may be the alveolar stop or alveolar nasal.

$$20. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \\ - \text{distri} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \text{abr. release} \\ - \text{conti} \end{bmatrix} / [- \text{syll}] \text{ ---}$$

Examples:

a:ttukku	→	a:tt ^r ukku	'to the river'
kattā:n	→	katt ^r a:n	'he learned'
u:ttu	→	u:tt ^r u	'spring'
vittu	→	vitt ^r u	'having sold'
kuntū	→	kunt ^r u	'hill'
nan ^t tu	→	nan ^t ^r u	'good'
ninta:n	→	nint ^r a:n	'he stood'
centā:n	→	cent ^r a:n	'he went'

Consonantalization

The semi-vowel [w] changes into /v/.

$$21. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{son} \\ + \text{conti} \\ + \text{high} \\ + \text{back} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \text{son} \\ + \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ - \text{cor} \end{bmatrix}$$

Examples:

pu:wil	→	pu:vil	'in the flower'
pu:wo:tu	→	pu:vo:tu	'with the flower'
amma:wo:tu	→	amma:vo:tu	'with mother'

3.1.5. Rule Ordering**3.1.5.1. Theory**

The phonological rules which map the abstract underlying representations into derived surface phonetic representations are ordered. The rules may be extrinsically ordered or intrinsically ordered. The rules are said to be extrinsically ordered, if the ordering statement prevents the rule from applying to a particular form even though it meets the structural

description. The rules are said to be intrinsically ordered, if the ordering statement gives the information when and where the rules apply in the structural description.

The notion of linear order is a principle where the rules are arranged in a single sequence and applied one at a time. The first rule of the list of rules operates first, then the second rule, then the third rule and so on to the last rule. Each rule applies to the output of the preceding rule.

There are two pieces of empirical evidence for imposing orders of rules in phonology. One is synchronic evidence and the other is historical. Synchronically the related dialects of a language may be described as having the same rules but applied in different order. "Different grammars may have differently ordered rules" (Halle, 1962). Similarly, "some historical changes may be described as changes in the order of applications of rules" (Kiparsky, 1965).

If there should be linear order in the description of phonology, it should satisfy the following four conditions (Anderson, 1974 : 139).

- 1) *Connectedness*: for any pair of rules A and B, either A must precede B, or B must precede A.
- 2) *Irreflexivity*: no rule precedes itself.
- 3) *Antisymmetry*: if some rule both precedes and follows another rule, it must be the same as that other rule.
- 4) *Transitivity*: if A precedes B, and B precedes C, then A must precede C.

The confirmation of having linear order depends on satisfying these four conditions mentioned above. But the behaviour of the rules in the natural languages violates these four conditions and thus eliminates the linear order from the phonological description.

The condition of connectedness claims that the order of any two rules will be always unique and then the total order will also be unique.

"There is no reason to believe this and is not explicitly defended. So this condition cannot be taken for having linear order" (Anderson, 1974 : 139). Because when two rules are unrelated to one another, there may be no basis to assign either the order 'A precedes B' or 'B precedes A'.

The condition of irreflexivity states that any rule should not operate on its own output. In Tamil, the palatalization rule applies repeatedly where the output of the rule becomes the input of the same rule (Annamalai, 1975; Ramaswami, 1980).

The antisymmetry condition states that if a rule can both precede and follow another rule, it must be the same as the other rule. There are many instances where the same rule both precedes and follows the same rule. Further, the fact that the related dialects may have different orderings of the same rules violates the Antisymmetry condition.

If two absolutely unrelated rules are related to one another, then there would be no basis for having the order 'A precedes B' or 'B precedes A' and thus the Transitivity condition is violated. All these arguments question the existence of linear ordering in the description of phonology.

It is, therefore, necessary to order rules in pairs rather than to order linearly all the rules. Further, it is possible to argue logically for pairwise relation than for a set of rules in the ordering relations. When there are three rules, such as A, B and C, the rules A and B apply on a particular form where A precedes B and on another form, the rules B and C apply where B precedes C. On a third set of forms, the rules A and C apply and the list of rules in the order is A, B and C. But this list does not give any direct information about the interaction of the rules A and C (Anderson, 1974).

Two basic functional relationship that natural rules exhibit on the derivation of given phonological structure are referred to as feeding and bleeding. When there are two rules, such as A and B, the rule A feeds

rule B when it creates a form which meets the structural description of the rule B. Further, if the rule A does not create the form to meet the structural description of the rule B, rule B cannot apply. This kind of ordering relation between two rules is called feeding relation and the ordering is called feeding order.

The feeding order relationship may be prevented by ordering the rule B before the rule A. This kind of ordering is called counter feeding.

When there are two rules, such as A and B, the application of rule A destroys some or all the environments to which B is applicable. These two rules A and B are in bleeding order. The same rules applying in the order B, A are in counter bleeding order.

The feeding order and the counter bleeding order allow both rules to apply whereas the counter feeding and the bleeding orders prevent one of the rules from applying. Thus both the feeding order and the counter bleeding order serve to maximize the utilization of rules of the grammar. Since the feeding order and the counter bleeding order maximize the utilization of rules, they are considered more natural than the counter feeding and bleeding orders, which serve to minimize the utilization of rules.

Grammars change through the reordering of rules and the direction of reordering is either from counter feeding to feeding or from bleeding to counter bleeding (Kiparsky, 1968b). This shows that the rule reordering is always in the direction of maximization of the utilization of the rules. But there is no a priori connection between maximal utilization of rules and naturalness. "The basis for the claim that there is a connection between maximization of rule use and naturalness was not a priori, but rather the consequence of Kiparsky's interpretation of certain linguistic changes" (Kenstowicz and Kisseberth, 1977).

The rules are applied in a particular order and each rule applies only once on any given cycle. If there are two rules in a given order for

one underlying representation, then they apply in the same order for all other underlying representations (Kiparsky, 1968b).

The limitation to a single application of a rule in a derivation bars full utilization of rules. That is, the rules apply in a fashion that does not maximize rule utilization and further an order of two rules which maximizes rule utilization for one class of underlying representations but not the other (Kenstowicz and Kisseberth, 1977 : 165). These principles limit the maximization of rule use because rules will apply more times if they are allowed to apply more than once in a given derivation and if the rules will apply in one order for certain underlying forms when two rules can be maximally utilized and the same rules will apply in opposite order for other underlying forms.

The feeding and counter bleeding orders are unmarked orders since they serve to maximize rule utilization in the derivations. But in some cases, the rules are maximally utilized in any order they are applied. In such cases the principle of maximization of rule application makes no claim about which of the order is the unmarked order. So, the marked / unmarked contrast is inapplicable (Kenstowicz and Kisseberth, 1977 : 168).

The validity of the correlation between maximal utilization of rules and naturalness, however, may be explained as this: the counter feeding order creates superficial exceptions whereas feeding order does not; irregular forms (exceptions) are more difficult to learn than regular forms; the rule reordering in the historical change from a counter feeding to feeding may be explained as a shift from a less regular to more regular linguistic pattern; the maximal utilization of rules regularizes paradigms also, i.e., by changing the order of the rules it reduces the phonetic variations in the paradigms of a particular morpheme by which it regularizes the paradigms. It is believed that regular paradigms are more natural than the irregular paradigms and this claims, in turn, that a rule order derives more regular paradigms is more natural than the rule order which derives irregular paradigms (Kenstowicz and Kisseberth, 1977).

When there are certain problems in the principle of maximal utilization of rules, Kiparsky replaced it by the principle of opacity. A rule of the form $A \rightarrow B/C$ is said to be opaque if there are phonetic counter examples to it or if there is in the phonetic representation B in environments other than before C.

Generally the counter feeding orders are opaque and feeding orders are transparent. Since the feeding order minimizes opacity it is claimed to be more natural than the counter feeding order of rules. Though the principle of opacity is a refinement over the principle of maximal utilization, there are some problems. There are cases where counter bleeding order creates opacity but bleeding order does not (Kenstowics and Kisseberth, 1977 : 169). The correlation of transparency with naturalness fails to explain the occurrence of opaque order over and over again in the languages of the world.

However, the present study takes the position that the rules are ordered and tries to bring out the relation between Formal and Informal Tamil in rule ordering also besides underlying representations, morpheme structure rules, etc.

3.1.5.2. Discussion on Rule Ordering in Tamil

Rule ordering is utilized to bring out the differences between Formal and Informal Tamil. When the no-ordering principle is accepted, the ordering is placed by some universal principles. The universal principles bring out the similarities rather than the differences between languages.

In order to bring out the differences in the derivations from the same underlying representation in Formal and Informal Tamil, additional rules are necessary. For example, $vil+k+t+a:n$ 'he sold' is the underlying representation for both Formal and Informal Tamil but the surface forms differ and this is due to different derivations.

Formal Tamil

- 1) vilk+t+a:n (Underlying Representation)
- 2) vilt+t+a:n (Develarization Rule)
- 3) vilt+t+a:n (Retraction Rule)
- 4) viØt+t+a:n (Sonorant Deletion Rule)
- 5) vi_t+t_t^r+an (Affrication Rule)
- 6) vit_t^ra:n (Surface Representation)

Informal Tamil

- 1) vilk+t+a:n (Underlying Representation)
- 2) vilt+t+a:n (Develarization Rule)
- 3) viØt+t+a:n (Sonorant Deletion Rule)
- 4) vitta:n (Surface Representation)

In the above shown derivations, it could be seen that Formal Tamil needs four rules and Informal Tamil needs only two rules.

In the derivation of words, like ma:ttukku 'to the cattle' three rules are utilized and they should be allowed to apply in the following order:

- 1) Ca:riyai Insertion Rule
- 2) Retroflexion Rule
- 3) Cluster-reduction Rule

It is not possible to derive the correct surface form, if the above shown order is changed. The derivation may be seen in the following:

- 1) ma:t+ukku (Underlying Representation)
- 2) ma:t+tt+ukku (Ca:riyai Insertion Rule)
- 3) ma:t+tt+ukku (Retroflexion Rule)
- 4) ma:tt+ukku (Cluster Reduction Rule)
- 5) ma:ttukku (Surface Representation)

For the operation of a certain rule, the rule must meet its structural description otherwise, the rule cannot make its structural change. For

example, for the operation of the retroflexion rule, the structural description of retroflexion rule is $ma:t\text{-}t\text{-}tt\text{-}ukku$.

To meet the structural description for the retroflexion rule, the $ca:riyai$ insertion rule should have applied before the application of the retroflexion rule. If the cluster reduction rule is allowed to apply before the application of the $ca:riyai$ insertion rule, the cluster reduction rule cannot meet its structural description. So, it is necessary that the rules must be allowed to apply in the order shown above.

The $ca:riyai$ insertion rule must apply on the underlying representation $ma:t\text{-}t\text{-}ukku$ in order to apply other rules in the order. If the $ca:riyai$ insertion rule is not applying first, the other rules in the order do not make their structural descriptions as shown below:

- 1) $ma:t\text{-}t\text{-}ukku$
- 2) $ma:t\text{-}t\text{-}ukku$ (no environment for retroflexion Rule)
- 3) $ma:t\text{-}t\text{-}ukku$ (no environment for cluster reduction Rule)

The following phonological rules apply in the order shown here:

- 1) Tensing of obstruents rule
- 2) Delateralization rule
- 3) Cluster-reduction rule

In order to derive the correct surface forms, these three rules must be allowed to apply in the order shown here. If the order of application of these rules changes, either they cannot meet their structural description to apply or if they meet their structural description, the derived forms will be incorrect forms. For example, to derive the word *netpayir* 'paddy crop' these rules must apply in that order only. This may be seen here:

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1) $nel\#_i\text{ payir}$ | (Underlying form) |
| 2) $nel\#_i\text{ ppayir}$ | (Tensing of Obstruents Rule) |
| 3) $net\#_i\text{ ppayir}$ | (Delateralization Rule) |

- 4) $nel\#_i$ payir (Cluster-reduction Rule)
- 5) nel payir (Surface form)

If the order of the application of these rules changes, the derivation may be as shown below:

- 1) $nel\#_i$ payir (Underlying form)
- 2) $nel\#_i$ payir (Delateralization rule does not meet its structural description, so it cannot apply)
- 3) $nel\#_i$ payir (Cluster-reduction rule does not meet its structural description, so it cannot apply)
- 4) $nel\#_i$ payir (Tensing of obstruents rule can apply since it meets its structural description)
- 5) $nel\#_i$ ppayir
- 6) * nel ppayir (Derived surface form)

The derived surface form * nel ppayir is not correct form in Formal Tamil but it may be an acceptable form in Informal Tamil.

The following two rules

- 4) Retroflexion rule
- 5) Sonorant deletion rule

must apply in this order only. This is counter bleeding order. The reverse order would delete the environment for retroflexion. The order of application of these two rules may be seen here:

- 1) $a:l+nt+a:n$ (Underlying form)
- 2) $a:l+n\ddot{l}+a:n$ (Retroflexion rule)
- 3) $a:l+nt+a:n$ (Sonorant deletion rule)
- 4) $a: +n\ddot{l}+an$
- 5) $a:n\ddot{l}a:n$

The following two rules:

6) Retraction rule

7) Affrication rule

must apply in this order only. These rules are in counter bleeding order.

The order of application of these rules may be seen here:

- 1) cel+nt+a:n (Underlying form)
- 2) cel+nt+a:n (Retraction rule)
- 3) cel+nt+a:n (Sonorant deletion rule)
- 4) ce +nt+a:n
- 5) centa:n

3.2. Informal Tamil

3.2.1. Redundancy Rules

3.2.1.1. Segment Redundancy Rules

All the sonorant segments are [-syllabic], all the nasal segments are [+voice], all the non-back vowels are [-round] and all the vowels are [-nasal] at the systematic phonemic level. But at the systematic phonetic level, the vowels may be [+nasal] and therefore, the feature nasal is not redundant with reference to vowel at this level.

3.2.1.2. Sequence Redundancy Rules

In Informal Tamil words begin either with a vowel or with a consonant or with two consonants. But no word begins with more than two consonants. This constraint on the structure of words may be stated as this:

1. # ([-syll]) ([-syll]) [+syll] ---

This sequence Reduncy has further constraints. For example, if the word begins with two consonants, then the initial consonant must be non-syllabic and non-sonorant and the second consonant must be a sonorant segment. This condition may be stated as this:

$$2. \quad [-\text{syll}] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{syll} \\ -\text{son} \end{array} \right] / \# \text{ --- } [-\text{syll}]$$

$$3. \quad [-\text{syll}] \rightarrow [+ \text{son}] / \# \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{syll} \\ -\text{son} \end{array} \right] \text{ ---}$$

In a consonant cluster, if the second consonant is a stop, then the first consonant is a homorganic stop within a word like eppo 'when', attu 'boundary', a:t̪u 'to shake', mukku 'bud', paccai 'green'.

$$4. \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{syll} \\ -\text{son} \\ -\text{conti} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [\alpha F] / + \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{syll} \\ -\text{son} \\ -\text{conti} \end{array} \right] \text{ ---}$$

This is not true of Formal Tamil. But there are some words in Informal Tamil which are exception to this:

virpane	'safe'
karpu	'virtue'
ma:rkāYi	'name of a month' (Dec.– Jan.)
ta:rpā:y	'tarpaulin'

which may be borrowings from Formal Tamil or another language. Otherwise, in all other cases where there is a cluster of sonorant and non-syllabic and non-sonorant segment, there is word boundary as in

palpoṭi	'tooth powder'	(pal # poṭi)
kaltu:ṇ	'rock pillar'	(kal # tu:ṇ)
ka:lpaṇku	'quarter share'	(ka:l # paṇku)

There are no assimilations among the medial consonants in the above mentioned words. So, the clusters of sonorants and obstruents are available in the word medial position.

3.2.2. Boundaries

All the boundaries that are used in Formal Tamil are used in Informal Tamil also. So, the boundaries are not discussed here again.

3.2.3. Systematic Phonemes

The following segments are the systematic phonemes of Informal Tamil.

3.2.3.1. Vowels

		<i>Front</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Back</i>
High	Short :	i		u
	Long :	i:		u:
Mid	Short :	e		o
	Long :	e:		o:
Low	Short :		a	
	Long :		a:	

3.2.3.2. Consonants

		Bl.	LDl.	DI.	Al.	Ret.	Pl.	Vel.
Stops	VI.	:	p		t	<u>t</u>	t̤	k
	Vd	:	b		d	d̤		g
Affricates	VI.	:						c
	Vd.	:						j
Fricatives	VI.	:				s̤		
	Vd.	:		v				
Nasals	Vd.	:	m		n	<u>n̤</u>	ɲ	
Laterals		:			l	l̤		
Non-laterals:					r	ɾ		
Semi-vowel:								y

3.2.4. Phonological Rules

ca:riyai Insertion

ca:riyai is an empty morph which does not have any meaning. The nouns which end in [am] take [tt] before case markers. Later, [m] is deleted before [tt] since there are no three consonant clusters in Informal Tamil.

Examples:

enṇam+ai	→	enṇam-tt+ai	'thought' (acc.)
cattom+ukku	→	cattom-tt+ukku	'to the noise'
a:ṭṭam+ukku	→	a:ṭṭam-tt+ukku	'to the dance'
va:ram+ukku	→	va:ram-tt+ukku	'to the week'
campaḷam+ukku	→	campaḷam-tt+ukku	'to the salary'

The insertion of /tt/ also accounts for the doubling of the final /t/ and /ɸ/ of the nouns of the canonical shape other than (C)VC before case marker.

Examples:

1. a:t+ukku 'to the river'
2. a:t-tt+ukku (Ca:riyai insertion)
3. a:t-ṭṭ+ukku (Assimilation)
4. a:ṭṭ+ukku (Cluster reduction)
5. a:tt+ukku (Dentalization)
6. a:ttukku

1. vi:t+ukku 'to the house'
2. vi:t-tt+ukku (Ca:riyai insertion)
3. vi:t-ṭṭ+ukku (Assimilation)
4. vi:ṭṭ+ukku (Cluster reduction)
5. vi:ttukku (Surface form)

After the ca:riyai /tt/ is inserted, it is assimilated with the preceding alveolar or retroflex stop producing three alveolar or retroflex stops. Then the cluster reduction rule applies to delete one of the three stops.

The same arguments for the justification of the insertion of /tt/ used in the description of Formal Tamil hold good for Informal Tamil also.

The cariyai insertion rule may be stated as below:

$$1. [\emptyset] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \\ + \text{distri} \end{array} \right]_2 / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{syll} \\ + \text{back} \\ + \text{low} \\ - \text{long} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{son} \\ + \text{ant} \end{array} \right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \end{array} \right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{conti} \\ - \text{ant} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} + [\text{case}]$$

The justification for having /ɹ/ in the underlying representation, which is never realized phonetically, is the same as given for Formal Tamil.

Glide Insertion

The glides /y/ and /w/ are inserted after front and back vowels respectively when followed by another vowel after a morpheme.

$$2. [\emptyset] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{son} \\ + \text{conti} \\ + \text{high} \\ \alpha \text{back} \end{array} \right] / \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{syll} \\ \alpha \text{back} \end{array} \right] + - [+ \text{syll}]$$

Examples:

tampi+e	→	tampi-y-e	'younger brother' (acc.)
kili+e	→	kili-y-e	'parrot' (acc.)
puli+e	→	puli-y-e	'tiger' (acc.)
al+e	→	ale-y-e	'wave' (acc.)

pacu+a	→	pacu-w-a	'Is it a cow?'
keṭu+a	→	keṭu-w-a	'Is it a time limit?'
kocu+a	→	kocu-w-a	'Is it mosquito'
pu:+e	→	pu:-w-e	'flower' (acc.)

Tensing of Sonorants

The word final sonorants except [-lateral] sounds in the monosyllabic words having short vowel, become tense before a morpheme boundary and a morpheme beginning with a vowel. Here the monosyllabic words with short vowel are nouns. The rule of the tensing of sonorants may be stated as this:

$$3. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{son} \\ + \text{voice} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \quad \end{bmatrix}_2^2 / - + [+ \text{syll}]$$

Examples:

kay+a:le	→	kay-y-a:le	'with hand'
muḷ+e	→	muḷ-ḷ-e	'thorn' (acc.)
eḷ+e	→	eḷ-ḷ-e	'sesame' (acc.)
col+e	→	col-l-e	'word' (acc.)
kal+a:le	→	kal-l-a:le	'with stone'
en+o:ṭe	→	en-n-o:ṭe	'with me'
on+o:ṭe	→	on-n-o:ṭe	'with you'
kaṇ+e	→	kaṇ-ṇ-e	'eye' (acc.)
maṇ+e	→	maṇ-ṇ-e	'soil' (acc.)

Tensing takes place when /u/ is inserted also giving the following forms:

kaṇṇu vali	'eye pain'
pallu vali	'tooth ache'
kallu me:le	'on the stone'

There is no tensing when there is assimilation or doubling of the initial stop, because there is no insertion of /u/ when these phonological changes take place.

kaŋ no:vu	'eye pain'
pal poŋi	'tooth powder'
kal tu:ŋ	'rock pillar'

Voicing

Voiceless obstruent non-continuants become voiced after nasal consonant.

$$4. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{conti} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+ \text{voice}] \quad / \quad \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{son} \\ - \text{conti} \end{bmatrix} \text{ —}$$

Examples:

ampu	→	ambu	'arrow'
nampu	→	nambu	'to believe'
kampu	→	kambu	'bulrush millet'
pantu	→	pandu	'ball'
cantu	→	candu	'lane'
vantu	→	vandu	'having come'
vaŋti	→	vaŋdi	'cart'
tuŋtu	→	tuŋdu	'piece, small towel'
ancu	→	aŋju	'five'
koncu	→	koŋju	'to talk amorously'
tanku	→	taŋgu	'to stay'
panku	→	paŋgu	'share'

Fricativization

/t/ becomes [ð] in the intervocal position.

$$5. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \\ + \text{distri} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{conti} \\ + \text{voice} \end{bmatrix} / [+ \text{syll}] \text{ --- } [+ \text{syll}]$$

Examples:

atu	→	aḍu	'that'
itu	→	iḍu	'this'
potu	→	poḍu	'general'
na:ti	→	na:ḍi	'relation'
pa:ti	→	pa:ḍi	'half'
viti	→	viḍi	'fate'

/k/ becomes [x] in the intervocal position.

$$6. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{conti} \\ + \text{high} \\ + \text{back} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{conti} \\ - \text{voice} \end{bmatrix} / [+ \text{syll}] \text{ --- } [+ \text{syll}]$$

Examples:

nake	→	naxe	'jewell'
makaḷ	→	maxaḷ	'daughter'
makan	→	maxan	'son'
ve:kam	→	ve:xam	'speed'

/c/ becomes [s] in the intervocal position and in the word initial position.

$$7. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{conti} \\ + \text{high} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \end{bmatrix} / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \# \text{ ---} \\ [+ \text{syll}] \text{ --- } [+ \text{syll}] \end{array} \right\}$$

Examples:

co:ru	→	so:ru	'cooked rice'
contam	→	sondam	'relation'
cakkaram	→	sakkaram	'wheel'
campalam	→	sampalam	'salary'
a:cai	→	a:sai	'desire'
arici	→	arisi	'rice'
pe:cu	→	pe:su	'to talk'

Becoming Continuant

/t/ becomes /r/ in the intervocal position.

$$8. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{son} \\ + \text{voice} \\ + \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ - \text{lat} \end{bmatrix} / [+ \text{syll}] \text{ — } [+ \text{syll}]$$

Examples:

a:tu	→	a:ru	'river'
co:tu	→	so:ru	'cooked rice'
ma:tu	→	ma:ru	'to change'
ve:tu	→	ve:ru	'other'
kutai	→	kurai	'to decline'

All the five rules (Rule 5, 6, 7, and 8) may be collapsed as this:

$$9. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{conti} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+ \text{conti}] / [+ \text{syll}] \text{ — } [+ \text{syll}]$$

De-distribution

In the process of assimilation, the dental sounds become alveolar when they occur after alveolar sound.

$$10. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \\ + \text{distri} \end{bmatrix}_2^2 \rightarrow [- \text{distri}]_2^2 / \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ + \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{Lat} \end{bmatrix} + \text{---}$$

Examples:

vil+tt+a:n	→	vil+tt+a:n	'he sold'
nil+nt+a:n	→	nil+nt+a:n	'he stood'
kol+nt+a:n	→	kol+nt+a:n	'he killed'

After the application of the rule Sonorant Deletion on these forms, the forms such as vit̤ta:n, nint̤a:n, and kont̤a:n are derived. Again, the rule Deretraction applies on the form vit̤ta:n and derives the form vitta:n and the rule Nasal assimilation applies on nint̤a:n and kont̤a:n and derives the forms ninna:n and konna:n.

Retroflexion

In the process of retroflexion, the dental stop assimilates with coronal stop when it follows it.

$$11. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \end{bmatrix}_1^2 \rightarrow [- \text{ant}]_1^2 / \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \end{bmatrix} + \text{---}$$

Examples:

nat̤+t+a:l	→	nat̤+t̤+a:l	'she planted'
ket̤+t+a:n	→	ket̤+t̤+a:n	'he spoiled'
pat̤+t+a:n	→	pat̤+t̤+a:n	'he experienced'
vit̤+t+a:n	→	vit̤+t̤+a:n	'he left'
kaṇ+le	→	kaṇḷe	'in the eye'
ka:t̤+le	→	ka:t̤ḷe	'in the forest'
a:l̤+nt+a:n	→	*a:l̤+nt̤+a:n	'he ruled'
urul̤+nt+atu	→	*urul̤+nt̤+atu	'it rolled'

In the derivations of the forms, such as a:ṇṭa:n, uruṇṭatu, the coronal lateral consonant is deleted by the Cluster Reduction rule giving a:ṇṭa:n and uruṇṭatu.

Develarization

The velar obstruent non-continuant assimilates with following labial and dental obstruent non-continuants.

$$12. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ + \text{conti} \\ + \text{high} \\ + \text{back} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+ \text{ant}] / - + \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \end{bmatrix}$$

Examples:

eṭuk+p+a:n	→	eṭuppa:n	'he will take'
aṭik+p+a:n	→	aṭippa:n	'he will beat'
paṭik+p+a:n	→	paṭippan	'he will read'
paṭik+t+a:n	→	paṭitta:n	'he read'
kuṭik+t+a:n	→	kuṭitta:n	'he drank'
pa:rk+t+a:n	→	pa:rtta:n	'he saw'

The justification for positing /k/ in strong verbs the underlying representation is the same as for the Formal Tamil (Rule 11).

Palatalization

/t/ change into /cc/ after front vowels and /y/.

$$13. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{son} \\ - \text{conti} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{high} \\ - \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \end{bmatrix}_2^2 \rightarrow [+ \text{high}]_2^2 / \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} + \text{syll} \\ + \text{high} \\ - \text{back} \end{bmatrix} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{son} \\ + \text{high} \\ - \text{back} \end{bmatrix} \right\}$$

Examples:

aṭṭa:n	→	aṭṭa:n	'he beat'
oṭṭa:l	→	oṭṭa:l	'she broke'
paṭṭa:n	→	paṭṭa:n	'he read'
kuṭṭa:n	→	kuṭṭa:n	'he drank'
piṭṭa:n	→	piṭṭa:n	'he caught'
kiṭṭa:tu	→	kiṭṭa:tu	'obtained (it)'
uṭṭa:n	→	uṭṭa:n	'he broke'

If the input is /t/ instead of /tt/ another rule is needed for changing /t/ into /c/ as [t] → [c]/c-. The palatalization is the same phenomenon where /tt/ changing into /cc/, it could be expressed in one rule. So, it is stated in one rule instead of two rules.

/nt/ changes into /nc/ after front vowel and /y/.

$$14. \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{son} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \\ + \text{high} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \\ + \text{high} \end{array} \right] / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} + \text{syll} \\ - \text{back} \end{array} \right\} + -$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{son} \\ + \text{high} \\ - \text{back} \end{array} \right\} + -$$

Examples:

oṭi+nt+atu	→	oṭi+nc+atu	'it broke'
cey+nt+a:n	→	cey+nc+a:n	'he did'
ney+nt+a:l	→	ney+nc+a:l	'she wove'
pey+nt+atu	→	pey+nc+atu	'it rained'
koy+nt+a:l	→	koy+nc+a:l	'she plucked'
kale+nt+atu	→	kale+nc+atu	'it disappeared'

The preceding two rules (Rule 13 and 14) may be collapsed into one since both the rules describe a single process of palatalization.

$$15. \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \\ \alpha \text{nas} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{conti} \\ + \text{cor} \\ - \text{nas} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \\ + \text{high} \\ \alpha \text{nas} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \\ + \text{high} \\ - \text{nas} \end{array} \right] / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} + \text{syll} \\ - \text{back} \end{array} \right\} + -$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{son} \\ + \text{high} \\ - \text{back} \end{array} \right\} + -$$

Dedentalization

The dental obstruent non-continuant /t/ assimilates with the preceding /p/ and /k/ and changes into /pp/ and /kk/.

$$16. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \\ + \text{distri} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \alpha \text{ant} \\ \beta \text{cor} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} \alpha \text{ant} \\ \beta \text{cor} \end{bmatrix} + \text{---}$$

Examples:

aṭank+t	*aṭankk-	'to control'
maṭank+t	*maṭankk-	'cause to fold'
kalank+t	*kalankk-	'to stir'
tirump+t	*tirumpp-	'to turn'
niramp+t	*nirampp-	'to fill-up'
kuṭamp+t	*kuṭampp-	'to confuse'

The nasal consonants before the obstruent clusters are deleted by a phonological rule later (Rule 20).

The justification for positing /t/ in the underlying representation is same as for Formal Tamil (Rule 12).

Nasal Assimilation

The alveolar obstruent non-continuant /t/ assimilates with the preceding nasal consonant and changes into a nasal consonant.

$$17. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{son} \\ - \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \\ - \text{distri} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{nas} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{son} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \\ - \text{distri} \end{bmatrix} \text{---}$$

Examples:

ninta:n	→	ninna:n	'he stood'
konta:n	→	konna:n	'he killed'
tinta:n	→	tinna:n	'he ate'

Though the forms such as ninta:n, konta:n, etc., are not found at the surface level in Informal Tamil, they are taken as the underlying representations, because /nt/ is the past tense marker for a set of verbs. The alveolar nasals /nn/ later change into retroflex nasals /ṇṇ/. In some dialects they remain alveolar.

Nasalization

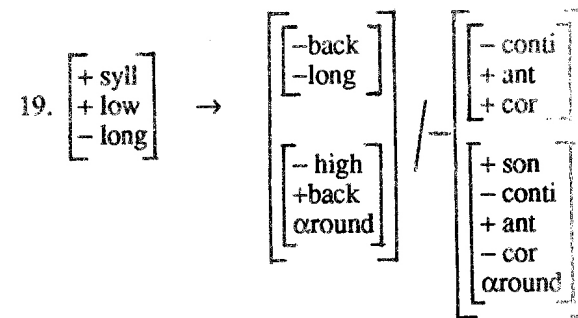
The vowel becomes nasalized before a nasal consonant in the word final position and the nasal consonant is deleted. Both are parts of the same rule and may be stated in one rule.

$$18. \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{syll} \\ - \text{high} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{son} \\ - \text{cont} \\ + \text{nas} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{syll} \\ + \text{nas} \end{array} \right] / \text{ — } \#$$

Examples:

avan	→	avẽ	'he'
makan	→	makẽ	'son'
maram	→	marõ	'tree'
manam	→	manõ	'mind'
po:na:n	→	po:nã:	'he went'
ke:ṭa:n	→	ke:ṭã:	'he asked'
vanto:m	→	vantõ:	'we came'
naṭanto:m	→	naṭantõ:	'he walked'

The short vowel /a/ changes into /e/ and /o/ before /n/ and /m/ respectively. Here the process of nasalization precedes the vowel changes. The vowel changes may be stated by a rule as this:



The internal justification for positing vowel and nasal consonant in the underlying representation is the following fact.

Though nasalized vowels contrast with oral vowels in the surface they do not contrast with vowel+nasal. Moreover, if any morpheme beginning with a vowel is added to the words with nasalized vowel, the nasal consonant appears as in the following:

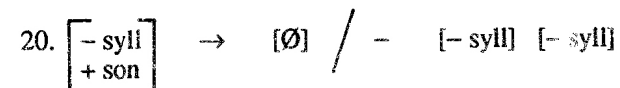
Examples:

avẽ+a:	→	avana:	'Is it he?'
makẽ+a:	→	makana:	'Is he son?'
vantã+a	→	vanta:na	'Did he come?'
marõ+a:	→	marama:	'Is it a tree?'
maṇõ+a:	→	maṇama:	'Is it a smell?'
vantõ+a:	→	vanto:ma:	'Did we come?'

The particular nasal cannot be derived from nasalization, since it can be either /n/ or /m/. Therefore nasalized vowel cannot be in the underlying form.

Sonorant Deletion

All the sonorant consonants are deleted before consonant clusters.



aṭankk	→	aṭakk-	'to control'
maṭankk-	→	maṭakk-	'to fold'
a:ṇṭa:n	→	a:ṇṭa:n	'he ruled'
koṇṭa:ḷ	→	koṇṭa:ḷ	'she got'
pa:rtto:m	→	pa:rtto:m	'we saw'
ko:rtta:ḷ	→	ko:rtta:ḷ	'she knitted'
ke:ḷṭte:n	→	ke:ṭte:n	'I asked'
ceyṇca:n	→	ceṇca:n	'he did'
ka:yccatu	→	ka:ccatu	'it gave fruits'
ta:Yppa:ḷ	→	ta:ppa:ḷ	'bolt'

But there are lexical items where /ɾ/ is retained before consonant clusters, as in

va:Ykke	'life'
va:Ynta:n	'he lived'

The justification for having the sonorants in the underlying forms is that they are present when not followed by consonant clusters as in imperatives, interrogatives, verbal nouns, etc.

pa:ru	'to see'
ko:ru	'to knit'
ke:ḷu	'to ask'
a:ḷu	'to rule'
ceyyi	'to do'
pa:rve	'sight'
ke:ḷvi	'question'

Lateral Deletion

The word final lateral consonant is deleted in poly-syllabic words before internal word boundary and word boundary.

$$21. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{son} \\ + \text{conti} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [\emptyset] / - \left\{ \begin{matrix} \# i \\ \# \end{matrix} \right\}$$

Examples:

aval#i:ta:n	→	ava# i:ta:n	'that is she'
conna:l#i:ta:n	→	conna:# i:ta:n	'if one says'
paṭicca:l#i:ta:n	→	paṭicca:# i:ta:n	'if one reads'
aval	→	ava	'she'
vanta:l	→	vanta:	'she came'
ka:val	→	ka:va	'guarding'
ca:val	→	ca:va	'cock'
pa:kāḷ	→	pa:va	'bitter-gourd'
ponkaḷ	→	ponka	'pongal' (a preparation of boiled rice seasoned with salt, pepper cumin seed and ghee)

But there are exceptions as in

a:val	'desire'
acaḷ	'capital'
cava:l	'challenge'
tapa:l	'post'
pa:kāḷ	'day'
mutaḷ	'capital'

Glide Deletion

The glide /y/ is deleted before internal word boundary and word boundary in poly-syllabic words.

$$22. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{son} \\ + \text{conti} \\ + \text{high} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [\emptyset] / - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \#_1 \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$$

Examples:

man:ka:y	→	manka:	'mango'
te:nka:y	→	te:nka	'coconut'
ka:kka:y	→	ka:kka	'crow'

ma:nka:y#i ta:n → ma:nka:# i ta:n	'mango itself'
te:nka:y#i ta:n → te:nka:# i ta:n	'coconut itself'
ka:kka:y#i ta:n → ka:kka:# i ta:n	'crow itself'

Deletion of Dative /u/

All the case markers have single representation but the dative case has two markers as /ukk/ and /kk/. It is necessary to discuss which is the underlying form.

The initial /u/ of the dative case marker /ukk/ is not present in the following words which end in front vowel (Annamalai, 1975).

tampikku	'to the younger brother'
velli <u>kk</u> ku	'to the silver'
palli <u>kk</u> ku	'to the school'
palli <u>kk</u> ku	'to the wall lizard'

But the initial /u/ of the dative case /ukk-/ is present in other words.

pacu-v-ukku	'to the cow'
kocu-v-ukku	'to the mosquito'
teru-v-ukku	'to the street'
amma:-v-ukku	'to the mother'

If the grammar has the Dative case marker /ukk-/ it needs a rule to delete the initial /u/ after a front vowel. If the grammar has the Dative case marker /kk/ as underlying case marker, it needs a rule to insert the initial /u/ after non-front vowels. The forms which have /ukk-/ as the Dative case marker are more than the forms which have /k/. On this basis, the marker /ukk/ may be taken as underlying form and there will be a /u/ deletion rule. But the /u/ deletion is restricted only to the Dative case marker since the initial /u/ of other grammatical categories such as -um is not deleted after front vowels.

tampi+um	→	tampi-y-um	'younger brother also'
velli+um	→	velli-y-um	'silver also'
kutti+um	→	kutti-y-um	'young one also'

$$23. \begin{bmatrix} + \text{syll} \\ + \text{high} \\ + \text{back} \\ - \text{long} \\ + \text{Dative} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [\emptyset] / \begin{bmatrix} + \text{syll} \\ + \text{high} \\ - \text{back} \\ - \text{long} \end{bmatrix} + \text{---} [- \text{syll}]_2^2$$

Deletion of /u/ can be obtained through the following steps also (Annamalai, 1975).

tampi+ukk → tampi-y-ukk → tampi-y-ikk →
tampiy-kk → tampi:kk- → tampikk-

The change of /u/ to /i/ and loss of /i/ after /y/ are observed in the following.

ta:y-ukk → ta:y-ikk → ta:ykki 'to mother'

Insertion of /u/

$$24. [\emptyset] \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{syll} \\ + \text{high} \\ + \text{back} \\ - \text{long} \end{bmatrix} / [- \text{son}] \text{ --- } +$$

Examples:

*ka:ɿ → ka:tu 'forest'
keɿ → keɿu 'to spoil'
cuɿ → cuɿu 'to burn'
keɿɿ → keɿɿu 'having spoiled'
paɿicc → paɿiccu 'having read'
eɿutt → eɿuttu 'having taken'

Deletion of /u/

The inserted as well as the underlying /u/ is deleted before a vowel.

$$25. \begin{bmatrix} + \text{syll} \\ + \text{high} \\ + \text{back} \\ - \text{long} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [\emptyset] / - [+ \text{syll}]$$

Examples:

keṭu+a	→	keṭa	'to spoil' (infinitive)
ka:ṭu+a:	→	ka:ṭa:	'Is it forest?'
keṭṭu+a	→	keṭṭa	'spoiled'
paṭiccu+a	→	paṭicca	'read'
naṭu+a	→	naṭa	'to plant'
ma:ṭṭu+o:te	→	ma:ṭṭo:te	'with cattle'

/u/ must be deleted in past tense conjugation where the past tense marker is assimilated to the final stop of the verb stem. If /u/ is present this assimilation cannot take place.

viṭu+t+a:n	→	viṭ+t+a:n	→	viṭṭa:n	'he left'
paṭu+t+a:n	→	paṭ+t+a:n	→	paṭṭa:n	'he experienced'
toṭu+t+a:n	→	toṭ+t+a:n	→	toṭṭa:n	'he touched'
naṭu+t+a:n	→	naṭ+t+a:n	→	naṭṭa:n	'he planted'
a:ḷu+ṇt+a:n	→	a:ḷ+ṇt+a:n	→	*a:ḷṇṭa:n	'he ruled'
uruḷu+nt+a:n	→	uruḷ+ṇt+a:n	→	*uruḷṇṭa:n	'he rolled'
puraḷu+nt+a:n	→	puraḷ+ṇt+a:n	→	*puraḷṇṭa:n	'he turned'

But it is difficult to state this deletion since /u/ is present when there is no assimilation. This may be handled by ordering /u/-insertion rule after assimilation rule and introducing a convention that assimilation erases the morpheme boundary thus obtaining the structural description for the insertion of /u/.

Distribution

The geminated alveolar stops /tṭ/ change into dental stops /t/.

$$26. \left[\begin{array}{c} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{conti} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{cor} \\ - \text{distri} \end{array} \right]_2^2 \rightarrow [+ \text{distri}]_2^2$$

Examples:

a:ttukku	→	a:ttukku	'to the river'
ka:ttu	→	ka:ttu	'wind'
ma:ttu	→	ma:ttu	'to change'
ve:ttumai	→	ve:ttumai	'difference'
co:ttukku	→	co:ttukku	'to the cooked rice'
kinattukku	→	kinattukku	'to the well'

Words like vitta:n 'he sold' can be derived in two ways from their underlying representation. They are exemplified with the underlying representation vilk+t+a:n below:

- (a) 1. vilk+t+a:n
 2. vilt+t+a:n (assimilation)
 3. vil_t+t+a:n (assimilation)
 4. vit+t+a:n (l- deletion)
 5. vit+t+a:n (de-retraction)
 6. vitta:n (surface representation)
- (b) 1. vilk+t+a:n
 2. vilt+t+a:n (assimilation)
 3. vit+t+a:n (l- deletion)
 4. vitta:n (surface representation)

In the first derivation, there are four rules and in the second derivation there are only two rules. The grammar which has two rules is simpler than the one which has four rules. So, the second derivation may be preferred. But all the rules in the first derivation are needed in the language. The assimilation rule is needed to derive ke:lk+t+a:n → ke:l_t+t+a:n → ke:l_t+t+a:n → ke:t_t+t+a:n → ke:tt_a:n. Words like a:ttukku, co:ttukku have /t/ as in a:t, co:t in the underlying representation of the nouns. The justification for having /t/ in the underlying representations can be seen in Formal Tamil Rule 8. The assimilation and cluster-reduction rules apply.

and derive the forms like, a:ttu and co:ttu from which the surface forms a:ttu and co:ttu are derived. So, there is no extra cost in the first derivation, though number of rules needed is more.

Cluster-reduction

One of the three stops is deleted since no three stop cluster is allowed in Informal Tamil.

$$27. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{conti} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [\emptyset] / \begin{bmatrix} - \text{son} \\ - \text{voice} \\ - \text{conti} \end{bmatrix}_2 \text{ ---}$$

Examples:

a:ttukku	→	a:ttukku	'to the river'
co:ttukku	→	co:ttukku	'to the cooked rice'
ma:ttukku	→	ma:ttukku	'to the cattle'
ka:ttukku	→	ka:ttukku	'to the forest'

Fronting of /u/

The high back rounded vowel /u/ in the word final position changes into /i/ after /y/ or a palatal consonant.

$$28. \begin{bmatrix} + \text{syll} \\ + \text{high} \\ + \text{back} \\ - \text{long} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [- \text{back}] / \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{high} \\ - \text{back} \end{bmatrix} \text{ ---}$$

Examples:

pañcu	→	pañci	'cotton'
neñcu	→	neñci	'heart'
na:yu	→	na:yi	'dog'
ceñcu	→	ceñci	'having done'
vaYiccu	→	vaYicci	'having wiped'
pañiccu	→	pañicci	'having read'
piñiccu	→	piñicci	'having caught'

In the following examples /i/ palatalizes /k/ > /kʸ/ and the /kʸ/ changes /u/ into /i/.

oḷi+kku	→	oḷikkʸi	'to the light'
eli+kku	→	elikkʸi	'to the rat'
palli+kku	→	pallikkʸi	'to the wall lizard'
tampi+kku	→	tampikkʸi	'to the younger brother'

But this palatalization process does not take place in the following examples where the palatalising change will convert the verb into verbal participle.

añcu	→	*añci	'five'
keñcu	→	*keñci	'to beg'

Consonantalization

The glide [w] changes into /v/.

$$29. \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{son} \\ + \text{back} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ - \text{son} \\ + \text{voice} \\ + \text{conti} \end{bmatrix}$$

Examples:

pu:-w-a	→	pu:va	'Is it flower?'
amma:-w-e	→	amma:ve	'mother' (acc.)
kocu-w-e	→	kocuve	'mosquito' (acc.)
pacu-w-e	→	pacuve	'cow' (acc.)

The first and second person pronouns have different forms before case markers. This change is lexically governed.

na:n+ukk-	→	enakku	'to me'
na:ŋkaḷ+ukk-	→	eŋkaḷukku	'to us'
ni+ukk-	→	onakku	'to you' (sg.)
ni:ŋkaḷ+ukk-	→	onkaḷukku	'to you' (pl.)

3.3. Phonological Differences : Formal and Informal Tamil

In the previous two chapters an attempt has been made to analyse the phonological structures of FT and IT independently of each other. The arguments for any underlying representation or redundancy and phonological rule were based purely on internal evidence in each variety. Specifically, no evidence from FT is used to justify any analysis of IT. This was done to find the relation between the two varieties in terms of their own structures and not to prejudice the analysis of IT from the point of view of FT. The differences between the two in their phonological component are discussed below in terms of underlying representation, redundancy rules and phonological rules. The differences in the surface representation are results of differences in the above mentioned things and lists of surface forms are given for comparison.

The differences between the two varieties of Tamil are manifested in the grammar also, i.e., morphology and syntax and in the lexicon as well. They are discussed in the two subsequent chapters.

3.3.1. Underlying Representation

The underlying representations are largely common for both FT and IT. The differences are given below:

1) The monosyllabic case suffixes which end in a consonant in the underlying representation of FT have added the vowel /e/ in IT as shown below:

<i>Formal Tamil</i>	<i>Informal Tamil</i>	
talai-y+a:l	talai-y+a:le	'with head'
kay-y+a:l	kay-y+a:le	'with hand'
kaṇ-ṇ+il	kaṇ-ṇ+ile	'in the eye'
muḷ-ḷ+il	muḷ-ḷ+ile	'in the thorn'
kaḷ-ḷ+il	kaḷ-ḷ+ile	'in the toddy'

kal-l-il	kal-l+ile	'in the stone'
pal-l-il	pal-l+ile	'in the tooth'

2) The past tense suffix /t/ with certain words in FT is found as /nt/ in IT in those words. However, /nt/ is a past tense suffix in FT also, but with certain other words. So, it is not a new underlying form in IT, but it occurs with more number of words. It is not inserted by a phonological rule in this study but listed in the lexicon as one of the alternants of the past tense suffix, because there is no phonological environment for its insertion or to derive it from another past tense suffix like /t/. Its occurrence is lexically conditioned.

cey+t+a:n	cey+nt+a:n	'he did'
koy+t+a:n	koy+nt+a:n	'he plucked'
ney+t+a:l	ney+nt+a:l	'she wove'
pey+t+atu	pey+nt+atu	'it rained'

3) The words which have /i/ or /u/ in the first syllable and low vowel in the second syllable in the underlying representation of FT, have /e/ or /o/ respectively in IT as shown below:

iṭai	eṭe	'hip'
ilai	ele	'leaf'
vilai	vele	'price'
vitai	vete	'seed'
kiṭai	keṭe	'branch'
ciṭai	cele	'statue'
niṭai	nele	'condition'
tiṭamai	teṭeme	'capacity'
vivaram	vevaram	'particulars'
vivaca:yam	vevaca:yam	'agriculture'
vivaka:ram	vevaka:ram	'disputation'
viḷakkam	veḷakkam	'explanation'
viḷakku	veḷakku	'lamp'

viral	veralu	'finger'
nirappu	nerappu	'to fill-up'
tikai	tece	'direction'
tirattu	terattu	'to assemble'
uYavu	oYavu	'ploughing'
uyaram	oyaram	'height'
utavu	otavu	'relation'
unakku	onakku	'to you'
utai	ote	'to break'
kutai	kote	'umbrella'
kunam	konam	'quality'
kural	koralu	'voice'
kuYampu	koYampu	'to confuse'
kuYampu	koYampu	'thickened curry broth'
kuYantai	koYente	'child'
kulatu	kolatu	'to confuse'
cumai	come	'burden'
cutalai	cotele	'burning ground'
curam	coram	'fever'
tutaippam	toteppam	'broom'

Though the above shown IT words have mid-vowels in their surface forms, they are claimed to have high vowels in their underlying representation. The justification for this is that, in derivationally related forms there is high vowel and the mid- vowels are environmentally conditioned, i.e., by the non-high vowel in the following syllable. The derivationally related sets of words are given below:

vele	'price'	villu	'to sell'
		vittu	'having sold'
nele	'condition'	nillu	'to stand'
keYakku	'east'	ki:Yikai	'eastern direction'
vete	'seed'	vittu	'seed'

oyaram	'height'	ucci	'top'
oYavu	'ploughing'	uYu	'to plough
		uYuta:n	'he ploughed'

The vowel /u/ after /v/ is treated to be /i/ in the underlying form for similar derivational relationship. The examples are given below:

vutu	'to leave'	viṭutalai	'freedom'
vuYu	'to fall'	viYutu	'falling roots of banyan tree'

3.3.2. Redundancy Rules

In the word initial position of FT, there can be only one non-syllabic segment but there can be two non-syllabic segments in IT as shown below:

kra:mam	'village'
kle:cam	'sorrow'
kla:rku	'clerk'
kla:cu	'class'
kro:tam	'anger'
vratam	'fasting'
bramma	'Lord Brahma'

The stops in consonant clusters must be homorganic (with some lexical exceptions) in IT but they may be non-homorganic also in FT.

vetkam	vekkam	'shy'
katkam	kakkam	'armpit'

3.3.3. Phonological Rules

The following phonological rules are common between FT and IT. The details of the phonological rules may be seen in 3.1.4 and 3.2.4.

1. ca:riyai insertion rule (Rule 1)
2. Glide insertion rule (Rule 2)

3. Tensing of sonorants rule (Rule 3)
4. Voicing rule (Rule 4)
5. Fricativization rule (Rules 5, 6 and 7)
6. Becoming continuant rule (cf. FT Rule 8 and IT Rule 8)
7. De-distribution rule (cf. FT Rule 9 and IT Rule 10)
8. Retroflexion rule (cf. FT Rule 10 and IT Rule 11)
9. Develarization rule (cf. FT Rule 11 and IT Rule 12)
10. Dedentalization rule (cf. FT Rule 12 and IT Rule 16)
11. Sonorant deletion rule (cf. FT Rule 15 and IT Rule 20)
12. Deletion of Dative /u/ rule (cf. FT Rule 16 and IT Rule 23)
13. Insertion of /u/ rule (cf. FT Rule 17 and IT Rule 24)
14. Cluster reduction rule (cf. FT Rule 18 and IT Rule 27)
15. Fronting of /u/ rule (cf. FT Rule 19 and IT Rule 28)
16. Consonantalization rule (cf. FT Rule 21 and IT Rule 29)

The following rules are exclusive to FT:

1. Insertion of ca:riyai /in/
2. Tensing of obstruents rule (Rule 13)
3. Delateralization rule (Rule 14)
4. Affrication rule (Rule 20)

The following rules are exclusive to IT:

1. Palatalization rules (cf. Rules 13, 14 and 15)
2. Nasal assimilation rule (Rule 17)
3. Nasalization rule (Rule 18)
4. Lateral deletion rule (Rule 21)
5. Glide deletion rule (Rule 22)
6. Distribution rule (Rule 26)

1) The exclusive rules of IT apply after the application of the common rules of both FT and IT. For example, the palatalization rule

which is exclusive to IT applies after the application of Develarization rule which is common to both FT and IT. This may be seen here.

1. paṭik+t+a:n(Underlying form)
2. paṭit+t+a:n(Develarization rule)
3. paṭi+tt+a:n
4. paṭi+cc+a:n(Palatalization rule)
5. paṭicca:n'he read' (Surface form)

2) The Nasal assimilation rule which is exclusive to IT applies after the application of de-distribution rule which is common to both formal and informal Tamil. This may be seen here.

1. nil+nt+a:n(Underlying form)
2. nil+nt+a:n(De-distribution rule)
3. ni+nt+a:n(Sonorant deletion rule)
4. ni+nn+a:n(Nasal assimilation rule)
5. ninna:n'he stood' (Surface form)

3) The Distribution rule which is exclusive to IT applies after the application of the De-distribution rule which is common to both FT and IT. This may be seen here.

1. vil+tt+a:n(Underlying form)
2. vil+tt+a:n(De-distribution rule)
3. vi+tt+a:n(Sonorant deletion rule)
4. vi+tt+a:n(Distribution rule)
5. vitta:n'he sold' (Surface form)

3.3.4. Surface Representation

The surface representations of FT and IT are more different than the underlying representations.

1) The words with instrumental case suffix -a:l and the locative case suffix -il in FT take /e/ after the suffix in IT, as shown below:

kayya:l	kayya:lae	'with hand'
kaṇṇa:l	kaṇṇa:le	'with eye'
talaiya:l	talaiya:le	'with head'
kattiya:l	kattiya:le	'with knife'
kalla:l	kalla:le	'with stone'
kaṇṇil	kaṇṇile	'in the eye'
kayyil	kayyile	'in the hand'
marattil	marattile	'in the tree'

2) The final /u/ in the associative case suffix in FT is /e/ in IT as shown below:

avano:ḍu	avano:ḍe	'with him'
enno:ḍu	enno:ḍe	'with me'
unno:ḍu	unno:ḍe	'with you'
avalo:ḍu	avalo:ḍe	'with her'

3) /ai/ in FT is /e/ in IT as shown below:

avanai	avane	'him'
marattai	maratte	'tree'
talaivar	talevaru	'leader'
malai	male	'mountain'
kolai	kole	'murder'
ve:lai	ve:le	'work'
na:lai	na:le	'tomorrow'

4) The words, in FT which end in a lateral /l/, /ɭ/ or glide /y/ do not have them in IT in certain environments and with certain exceptions, (cf. Rules 21, 22 of IT) as shown below:

aval	ava	'she'
vanda:ɭ	vanda:	'she came'
conna:l	conna:	'if someone says'
vanda:l	vanda:	'if someone comes'
po:na:l	po:na:	'if someone goes'

ma:ŋga:y	ma:ŋga:	'mango'
te:ŋga:y	te:ŋga:	'coconut'

5) The words which end in nasal, in FT, end in nasalized vowel in IT in certain environments (cf. Rule 18) as shown below:

avan	ave	'he'
mannan	mannē	'king'
kaṇṇan	kaṇṇē	'kannan'
sonna:n	sonnā:	'he said'
vanta:n	vandā:	'he came'
manam	manō	'mind'
paṇam	paṇō	'money'
kuṇam	kuṇō	'quality'
vando:m	vandō:	'we came'

6) The monosyllabic words with short vowel, in FT, which end in nasal or lateral, end in nasal or lateral gemination with /u/ in IT as shown below:

kaṇ	kaṇṇu	'eye'
maṇ	maṇṇu	'soil'
eṇ	eṇṇu	'number'
tin	tinnu	'to eat'
kal	kallu	'stone'
pal	pallu	'tooth'
col	collu	'word'
kaḷ	kaḷḷu	'toddy'

7) The words which end in sonorants, in FT, are followed by /u/ in IT. This is true also of words which end in a lateral or /y/ which is not deleted. However, the /u/ after /y/ appears as /i/ as shown below:

a:ṇ	a:ṇu	'male'
ma:n	ma:nu	'deer'
te:n	te:nu	'honey'
a:i	a:iu	'man'

va:l	va:lu	'sword'
te:l	te:lu	'scorpion'
ka:l	ka:lu	'leg'
pa:l	pa:lu	'milk'
va:l	va:lu	'tail'
va:Y	va:Yu	'to live'
ku:Y	ku:Yu	'paste, gruel'
ko:r	ko:ru	'to join, compile'
ka:y	ka:yi	'unripe fruit'
na:y	na:yi	'dog'
va:y	va:yi	'mouth'
sa:y	sa:yi	'to lean'

8) The words which have /t^r/, in FT, have /tt/ in IT as shown below:

u:t ^r u	u:ttu	'to pour'
ka:t ^r u	ka:ttu	'wind'
a:t ^r ukku	a:ttukku	'to the river'
so:t ^r ukku	so:ttukku	'to the cooked rice'
kinatt ^r ukku	kinattukku	'to the well'
ma:t ^r u	ma:ttu	'to change'
na:t ^r u	na:ttu	'seedling'
ki:t ^r u	ki:ttu	'slice, coconut leaf for thatching'
kutt ^r u	kuttu	'to pound'
na:t ^r am	na:ttam	'bad smell'
nett ^r i	netti	'forehead'

9) The words which have /tt/ in FT, have /cc/ in IT after a front vowel as shown below:

aḍitta:n	aḍicca:n	'he beat'
kuditta:n	kudicca:n	'he drank'
paḍitta:n	paḍicca:n	'he read'
piḍitta:n	piḍicca:n	'he caught'

naḍittā:n	naḍicca:n	'he acted'
pirittā:n	piricca:n	'he separated'
kiṟittā:n	kiṟicca:n	'he tore'
viṟittā:n	viṟicca:n	'he woke up from sleep'
virittā:n	viricca:n	'he opened'
sirittā:n	siricca:n	'he laughed'

The following processes, viz., the deletion of word final laterals and glides, deletion of word final nasal consonant causing word final nasalized vowel, insertion of /u/ after sonorants at the word final position results in the elimination of the word final consonants. Thus no word, in IT, ends in a consonant in the surface representation.

3.4. Derivation of Informal Tamil from Formal Tamil

The following studies assume the FT to be basic and derive IT from it.

- 1) Tamil literary and colloquial by R.P.Seshu Pillai (1953. Reprinted: 1974).
- 2) Tamil literary and colloquial by M.Shanmugam Pillai (1960).

Shanmugam Pillai (1972) states that "the relationship between FT and IT can be shown in a series of morphophonemic rules". There are, however, different opinions also. Shanmugam Pillai, for example, claims that both are two distinct systems. According to him (1965b) the differences between the two are such that an extensive knowledge of literary Tamil does not automatically guarantee an easy understanding of colloquial Tamil. He goes even further and states (1965b) if Malayalam has a claim to be different language, colloquial Tamil has an equally good claim to be a language different from literary language.

The differences between formal and informal Tamil were shown earlier in this chapter. However, IT can be derived from FT, but not

vice-versa. That means, that the underlying representations can be common for both FT and IT and the surface representations of FT will be an intermediate stage from which additional rules apply to derive the surface representation of IT. For example, the underlying representation $\text{patik} + \text{t} + \text{a} : \text{n}$ becomes $\text{patitta} : \text{n}$ by the application of a phonological rule, which is surface representation of FT from which IT surface representation paḍiccā is derived by another phonological rule.

The underlying representation $\text{a} : \text{t} + \text{ukku}$ becomes $\text{a} : \text{tt}^{\text{f}} \text{ukku}$ by the application of phonological rules, which is surface representation of FT from which $\text{a} : \text{ttukku}$ is derived by applying phonological rule, which is surface representation of IT.

The underlying representation $\text{nii} + \text{nt} + \text{a} : \text{l}$ becomes $\text{nii} \text{nd}^{\text{f}} \text{a} : \text{l}$ by the application of phonological rule which is surface representation of FT from which IT surface representation ninna is derived by applying a phonological rule.

The forms such as $\text{ava} \text{l}$, $\text{ma} \text{kā} \text{l}$, paṇam , manam , avan , etc., are both underlying representations and surface representations of FT. The IT surface representations for the above shown words are ava , maka , paṇḍ , manḍ and avē respectively. This shows, that the words of FT can be the input to the rules of the words of IT.

Even in cases where the underlying forms are different such as FT peṇ IT poṇṇu , the forms of IT may be derived by simple rules, from the forms of FT.

There are problems also in deriving IT words from FT words. For example, at the phonological level, words like $\text{na} : \text{lu}$ 'four' cannot be derived from the words like $\text{na} : \text{nku}$ of FT by regular rules. The words of IT like perusu 'big' can be derived from old Tamil form like peritu which is less frequent in Modern Tamil, more easily than from the forms of FT like periyatu .

4

GRAMMATICAL DIFFERENCES : FORMAL AND INFORMAL TAMIL

It is difficult to state exhaustively all the grammatical differences because, firstly, the morphological and syntactic items are relatively larger in number than the phonological items and secondly, to say that a particular grammatical item does not occur in FT, a large sample of modern written texts and formal speeches must be surveyed. However, the following grammatical analyses of modern Tamil are taken into account to compare the morphological and syntactic differences between FT and IT.

1. Annamalai, E. 1969. Adjectival clauses in Tamil. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. Chicago. Chicago University.
2. Annamalai, E. 1986. Some syntactic differences between spoken and written Tamil.
3. Lehmann, Thomas. 1989. A grammar of modern Tamil.

Further the following method was also followed. A text was written in FT using certain grammatical categories which were assumed to differ in FT and IT. This text was given to four educated native speakers of Tamil asking them to render it in spoken Tamil. The spoken and written texts were compared and the changes made in the spoken texts from the written texts were noted.

It may be observed from the following that there are some items which are exclusive to FT and some are exclusive to IT. But in most of the cases, FT has two or more alternating forms one could say that one of the alternants is more frequent in FT and the other is in IT. Nevertheless both occur in FT.

4.1. Morphology

4.1.1. Dative Case Relation

The Dative case marker is -kku as shown in the following sentences:

1. na:n avan-u-kku-p-paṇam koṭu-tt- a:n
I he to money give-past- PT
'I gave money to him'
2. avan u:r-u- kku-p-po:-kir- a:n
he village to go- pre-PT
'He is going to the village'
3. avar en-a- kku oru pe:na koṭu-tt- a:r
he (hon.) I to one pen give-past- PT
'He gave a pen to me'
4. avan ma:ṭṭ-u-kku tiini po:ṭ-ṭ- a:n
he cattle to fodder give-past- PT
'He gave fodder to the cattle'

In some cases the ca:riyai -in and -an are inserted before adding the case marker -kku as shown below:

5. na:nvitt- in- kku-p- po:-kir- c:n
I house cari- to go pre.-PT
'I am going home'
6. na:n amma:v-in- kku-p- paṇam anupp-in- c:n
I mother-cari- to money send-past-PT
'I sent money to mother'
7. anta-c- coll-in- kku-p-poru| enna?
that word-ca:ri-to meaning what
'What is the meaning of the word?'
8. at- an- kku iṅku ve:lai illai
that-ca:ri- to here work no
'There is no work for that here'

In some cases the motion verb po 'to go' does not take the Dative case -kku as in:

9. avan citamparam po:-kir-a:n
he Chidambaram go-pre- PT
'He is going to Chidambaram'
10. kaṇṇan maturai po:-kir- a:n
Kannan Madurai go-pre.-PT
'Kannan is going to Madurai'

But in IT, the motion verb takes the Dative case marker -kku normally as shown below:

11. kaṇṇan citampara- tt-u-kku-p- po:-kir-a:n
Kannan Chidambaram- ca:ri-case go-pre.-PT
'Kannan is going to Chidambaram'

12. kaṇṇan madurai- kku-p- po:-kir-a:n
 Kannan Madurai- to go-pre.-PT
 'Kannan is going to Madurai'

Dative case marker has a number of functions, such as indirect object function, goal of motion, purpose, recipient of experience, point of time or duration of time, proportion, distribution of function, standard of comparison and reference point (Lehmann, 1989). The Dative case functions as indirect object as shown below:

13. ba:lu ve:luv-ukku oru puttaka- ti-ai-k- ka:tt-in- a:n
 Balu Velu- to one book- carri-acc show-past-PT
 'Balu showed a book to Velu'
14. kaṇṇan kuma:r-u-kku oru caṭṭai-y-ai-k- koṭu-tt- a:n
 Kannan Kumar- to one shirt-acc. shown-past-PT
 'Kannan gave a shirt to Kumar'
15. ka:rtik ratna-v-ukku oru pe:na-v-ai-k-koṭu-tt-a:n
 Kartik Rathna to one pen- acc. give-past-PT
 'Kartik gave a pen to Rathna'

This kind of sentence construction is possible in IT but instead of the Dative case marker -kku, the postposition *kitte* 'near' is used more commonly as shown below:

16. kaṇṇan kumar-kiṭṭe oru caṭṭai yaik koṭutta:n
 17. ba:lu ve:lu-kiṭṭe oru puttakattai kka:ttina:n

Tamil uses Dative case marker -kku to express permanent possession relation and use the locative case marker -iṭam to express temporary possession (Lehmann, 1989) as in:

18. kaṇṇan kuma:ru- kku oru kaṭitam koṭu-tt- a:n
 Kannan Kumar- to one letter give-past-PT
 'Kannan gave a letter to Kumar'

19. kaṇṇan kuma:r-iṭam oru kaṭṭam koṭuttā:n
'Kannan gave a letter to Kumar'

IT does not make the distinction between permanent possession and temporary possession and uses *kiṭṭe* to express both types of possessions. In some cases both the case markers are used as in:

20. kaṇṇan kuma:r-ukku/kiṭṭe oru caṭṭai-yaik koṭuttā:n
21. ba:lu ve:lu-v-ukku/kiṭṭe oru puttakam koṭuttā:n
22. avan-ukku/kiṭṭe niraia cottu uḷḷatu
he to with more property is
'He has a lot of property'
(Lit: More property is with him/to him)
23. avan-ukku/kiṭṭe niraia nilam iruk-kir-atu
he to with more land is. pre-PT
'He has lot of lands'
(Lit: More lands are with him/to him)

Dative case marker *-kku* is used optionally with nouns like *ne:ttu*, *inṭu*, *na:ḷai*, etc., in FT (Lehmann, 1989). But in IT, the dative case marker may be used optionally with the nouns *ne:ttu* and *na:ḷai* but not with the noun *inṭu*, where it is used as *innaikki* always.

The Dative case marker *-kku* is used in comparative constructions where the comparison is made against the standard. This is like an attributive construction without copular verb (Lehmann, 1989) as shown below:

24. avan-u-kku ivan periyavan
he to he (pro.) big man
'He is elder than him'

25. kaṇṇan-u-kku ra:man periyavan
Kannan to Raman big man
'Raman is elder than Kannan'
26. cenkuṭṭuvan ilanko-v-u-kku mu:ttavan
Senkuṭṭuvan Ilango to elder
'Senkuttuvan is elder than Ilango'

This kind of constructions are limited in IT to express the relations, such as

27. en-a-kku avan periyavan
I to he elder
'He is elder than me'
28. avan-u-kku na:n mu:ttavan
he to I elder
'I am elder than him'

However, the adverbial comparative marker viṭa along with the accusative case marker -ai as aiviṭa is more common than the construction with the Dative case marker in IT as shown below:

29. kaṇṇan-ai-viṭa ra:man aṛiva:ḷi
Kannan-acc.-comp. Raman intelligent
'Raman is more intelligent than Kannan'
30. malligai-ai-viṭa ro:ja aṭaka:natu
jasmine-acc-comp. rose beautiful
'Rose is more beautiful than jasmine'
31. ta:marai ro:ja-vai- viṭa periyatu
lotus rose-acc. than big
'Lotus is bigger than rose'

4.1.2. Possessive Case Relation

The Possessive case relation is expressed with the case markers -uṭaiya, -in, -an and -atu. These markers express the notion of possession as shown below:

1. itu en-n-uṭaiya putakam
this I- poss. book
'This is my book'
2. atu avan-uṭaiya pe:na
that he- poss. pen
'That is his pen'
3. ivar avan-uṭaiya appa
he (hon.) he- poss father
'He is his father'
4. atu avar- in vi:tu
that he (hon.)- poss. house
'That is his house'
5. avaḷ avar-in peṇ
she he- poss. daughter
'She is his daughter'
6. atu avarkaḷ-in to:ṭṭam
that they- poss. garden
'That is their garden'
7. atu avar- atu cottu
that he (hon.) poss. property
'That is his property'

8. itu avan-atu catti
this he- poss. shirt
'This is his shirt'
9. at- an vilai enna?
that-poss. cost what
'What is the cost of that?'
10. it- an vilai enna
this-poss. cost what
'What is the cost of this?'

IT does not use all the four case markers to express Possessive case relation. The case marker -utaiya is used as o:te and also without this case marker. That is, these markers are optional here.

11. avan avar- o:te/avar makan
he he (hon.)- poss. son
'He is his son'
12. aval avar o:te/avar maka
she he (hon.)- poss. daughter
'She is his daughter'
13. ivar enka:-o:te/enka ma:ma
he (hon.) our- poss. uncle
'He is our uncle'
14. atu avan-o:te/avan catte
that he- poss. shirt
'That is his shirt'

4.1.3. Locative Case Relation

There are two Locative case markers, namely *-il* and *iṭam* to express Locative case relation. The Locative case marker *-il* occurs with animate and inanimate nouns but *iṭam* occurs only with animate nouns as

1. ma:yil ka:ṭṭ-il vacik- kir- atu
peacock forest-loc. live- pre.-PT
'Peacock lives in the forest'
2. kuyil maratt-il iruk-kir- atu
cuckoo tree- loc. be- pre.-PT
Cuckoo is on the tree'
3. avan caṭṭai-y-il pe:na iruk-kir- atu
he shirt- loc. pen be- pre.-PT
'The pen is in this shirt'.
4. aṇṇamalai hindi-y-il pe:cina:r
Annamalai Hindi- loc. speak-PT
'Annamalai spoke in Hindi
5. ja:ni tamīY-il eYutina:n
Johny Tamil-loc. write-past-PT
Johny wrote in Tamil'
6. anta maran-kaḷ-il itu periyatu
that tree- pl.-loc.this big
'This is a big tree among those trees'
7. anta pu:k- kaḷ-il itu aYaka:natu
that flower-pl.-loc. this beautiful
'This flower is beautiful among those flowers'

8. avalu amma:-v-iṭam po:na:!
she mother- loc. go- PT
'She went to mother'
9. na:n enn-iṭam iruntap- paṇatt-ai-k- koṭu-ṭ- e:n
I I- loc. was money- acc.- give-past-PT
'I gave the money which was with me'
10. avalu-iṭam avan e:n ko:ppap- paṭ-ṭ- a:n
she- loc. he why angry get-past-PT
'Why did he get angry with her?'

The case marker -il is used in IT and the marker is -le; but the case marker -iṭam is not used in IT but instead of iṭam, kiṭṭe is used to express the Locative case relation. As stated earlier, the case marker -iṭam occurs only with animate nouns but the case marker kiṭṭe is used with both animate and inanimate nouns.

11. avalu amma- kiṭṭe po:na:!
she mother-loc. go-tense-PT
'She went to mother'
12. na:n en-kiṭṭe irunta paṇatte koṭu-ṭ-e:n
I I- loc. was money-acc. give-past-PT
'I gave the money which was with me'
13. avalu nakaṭṭ-ai amma- kiṭṭe koṭu-ṭ- a:!
she jewel-acc. mother-loc. give-past-PT
'She gave the jewel to mother'
14. na:n u:ru- kiṭṭe vant-u-viṭṭ-e:n
I village-loc. come-tense-complete-PT
'I had reached near the village'

15. na:n mara-tt-u-kitte po:ne:n
 I tree-cari.- loc. go-past-PT
 'I went near the tree'

It may be observed here that the expressions, such as u:ru-kitte, marattu-kitte, etc., cannot be equated with the Locative case expressions, such as u:r-iṭam and maratt-iṭam since these constructions are not acceptable in FT. They take only dative case marker but not Locative case marker. In FT, the postposition arukil 'near' may be used as in u:r-in-arukil 'near the village' and maratt-in-arukil 'near the tree'.

4.1.4. Ablative Case Relation

The Ablative case relation is expressed with the case markers -il-iruntu and itam-iruntu in FT as shown below:

1. kuraṅku maratt-il- iruntu kuti-tt- atu
 monkey tree- loc.-abl. jump-past-PT
 'Monkey jumped from the tree'
2. kantan ma:ṭi- y-il iruntu viṭu-nt am
 Kantan first floor- loc.- abl.- fall-past-PT
 'Kantan fell from the first floor'
3. avan naṇṇan-iṭam-iruntu kaṭitam va- nt- atu
 he friend-loc.-abl. letter come-past-PT
 'A letter came from his friend'
4. avan-u-kku ma:ma-v- iṭam-iruntu paṇam va- nt- atu
 he- dative uncle- loc.- abl. money come-past-PT
 'Money came from his uncle'

The Ablative case marker -il-iruntu is used in IT as le-iruntu but the other case marker -iṭam -ir-untu is not used as it is but instead of -iṭam, the case marker -kitte is used as kitte-iruntu as in

5. avan mara-tt- le- iruntu viYu-nt- a:n
he tree-cari.-loc.-abl. fall-past-PT
'He fell from the tree'
6. na:nvi:tt- le- iruntu va- nt- e:n
I house- loc.-abl. come-past-PT
'I came from the house'
7. avan ma:ma-kitte- iruntu paṇam va- nt- atu
he uncle loc.- abl. money come-past-PT
'Money came from his uncle'
8. avaḷ amma- kitte- iruntu varu-kir- a:ḷ
she mother-loc.- abl. come-pre- PT
'She is coming from her mother'

4.1.5. Sociative Case Relation

The Sociative case expresses the function of accompaniment and it has two markers, viz., o:ṭu and uṭan.

1. avan appa:-v-o:ṭu/uṭan va-nt- a:n
he father- loc. come-past-PT
'He came with his father'
2. avaḷ paYatt-o:ṭu/uṭan pu:-v- um koṇṭuva-nt- a:ḷ
she fruit- soc. flower-and bring- past-PT
'She brought flower with fruit'
3. ve:ro-o:ṭu/uṭan maram muri- nt- atu
root- soc. tree break-past-PT
'The tree fell with roots'

4. ka:tt-o:tu/uṭan maṭai-y-um va- nt- atu
wind- soc. rain and come-past-PT
'Rain came with wind'

Though in most of the cases, these two case markers are in free variation, the case marker o:tu expresses some concepts, such as addition, location, direction, inclusion and restriction with some restricted nouns and predicates. In all these cases, the case marker uṭan is not used (Lehmann, 1989).

The case marker uṭan is not so common as o:tu in IT. In most of the cases, the case marker o:tu alternates with the postposition ku:te as shown below:

5. avan en-n-o:tu/ku:te va- nt- a:n
he I- soc. come-past-PT
'He came with me'
6. amma-v-o:tu/ku:te makaḷ- va- nt- a:ḷ
mother-soc. daughter-come-past-PT
'Daughter came with mother'
7. na:n na:ḷai avan-ku:te/o:tu cinima-v-ukku-p-po:kiṛ- e:n
I tomorrow he soc. cinema- to go-pre.-PT
'I am going to cinema tomorrow with him'
8. pu:-v- o:tu na:r- um ce:r-nt-u-vant- atu
flower-soc. fibre- and accompany-past-PT
'The fibre came with the flower'
9. maṭai-y-o:tu veyyal- um va-nt- atu
rain- soc. sunlight- and come-past-PT
'The sunlight came with rain'

4.1.6. Consecutive Action¹

The words, such as vantatum, nintatum, ke:ttatum, etc., are used in the sentences which express consecutive action. These words may be analysed as verbal noun+um as in vantatu+um, nintatu+um, and ke:ttatu+um. The sentences which express consecutive action in FT may be seen here:

1. kannan vant+atu+um paṇam ke:tt- a:n
Kannan come-past-neut. money ask-past-PT
'As soon as Kannan came, he asked for money'
2. maṭai nintatu+um kannan po:n- a:n
rain stand-past-neut. Kannan go-past-PT
'As soon as the rain stopped, Kannan went'
3. maṭai tirantatu+um taṇṇi:r va-ni- atu
sluice open-past-neut. water come-past-PT
'As soon as the sluice opened, water came'
4. su:riyan utittatu+um pani vilak-y- atu
Sun rise-past-neut. mist recede-past-PT
'As soon as the Sun rose, mist disappeared'
5. katavu tirantatum amaiccar iṇṇaṅk-in- a:r
door open-past-neut. minister stepdown-past-PT
'As soon as the door opened, the minister stepped down'

In IT, the sentences which express consecutive action have the suffix -oṭane adding with adjectival participle as in vanta+oṭane. The sentences are shown below:

6. kannan vanta oṭane paṇam ke:ttan
'As soon as Kannan came, he asked for money'

7. maYai ninna oTane kaṇṇan po:na:n
'As soon as the rain stopped, Kannan went'
8. maṭe terante oTane taṇṇi vantaṭu
'As soon as the sluice opened, water came'
9. su:riyan uticca oTane paṇi vilakiviṭṭatu
'As soon as the Sun rose, the snow disappeared'
10. kaṭavu tiranta oTane maṇṭiri irankina:r
'As soon as the door opened, the minister stepped down'

4.1.7. Causative Construction

The suffixes, namely -vi and -pi are used in causative construction as in

1. varu-vi- tt- a:n
come-cause-past-PT
'Caused to come'
2. cey-vi- tt- a:n
do- cause- past-PT
'Caused to do'
3. o:ṭṭu-vi- tt- a:n
drive-cause-past-PT
'Caused to drive'
4. paṭi-p-pi- tt- a:n
read- cause-past-PT
'Caused to read'

5. koṭu-p-pi- tt- a:n
give-cause-past-PT
'Caused to give'

6. kaṇ-pi- tt- a:n
see- cause- past-PT
'Caused to see'

7. kar- pi- tt- -a:n
learn-cause-past-PT
'Caused to learn'

IT has the auxiliary verb vai in the causative construction as in

8. vara- vai tt- a:n
to come- cause- past-PT
'Caused to come'

9. ceyy-a- vai tt- a:n
to do- cause- past-PT
'Caused to do'

10. paṭi-ka- vai- tt- a:n
read-inf. cause- past-PT
'Caused to read'

11. koṭuk- ka- vai- tt- a:n
to give-inf. cause-past-PT
'Caused to give'

It may be observed here that the causative suffixes in FT are added to the verb stem whereas in IT, the causative suffix -vai is added to the infinitive form of the verb. However, the causative suffix vai is also used in FT.

4.1.8. Negation

The two negative forms, namely illai and alla are used as finite forms without tense marker as shown below:

1. murukan inku illai
Murukan here not
'Murugan is not here'
2. kantan ne:ttu vara-v- illai
Kantan yesterday to come- not
'Kantan did not come yesterday'
3. kamalam inrum vara-v- illai
Kamalam today-also to come- not
'Kamalam did not come today also'

The negative illai is used to negate the existence as in

4. itu pe:na illai
this pen not
'This is not pen'
5. atu maram illai
that tree not
'That is not tree'
6. itu ciṅkam illai
this lion not
'This is not lion'

To negate the possession the negative form illai is used as in

7. itu enn-uṭaiya pe:na illai
this I- poss. pen not
'This is not my pen'

8. atu avan-utaiya puttakam illai
this he- poss. book not
'That is not his book'

9. itu enn-utaiya vitu illai
this I- poss. house not
'This is not my house'

The root forms *il* and *al* may be used in the negative relative participle constructions as *alla:ta* and *illa:ta*. This negative relative participle *alla:ta* may be used in the sense 'except' (Lehmann, 1989) as shown below:

10. ya:nai alla:ta miruka kaḷ
elephant not animals
'Animals except elephant'

11. avan alla:mal ello:rum va- nt- arkaḷ
he not all come-past-PT
'All the people came except him'

All kinds of negative constructions are expressed by the negative *illai* in IT. The negative relative participle *alla:ta* may be replaced by the negative *illa:mal* in IT as in:

12. avan illa:mal ello:rum vanta:rkaḷ

13. ya:nai illa:mal marra mirukaṇ kaḷ

There are negative suffixes *-a:tu* and *-a:mal* which are added with the verbs which give the meaning 'without'. The negative suffix *a:tu* is more common in FT and the negative suffix *-a:mal* is more common in IT.

14. kaṇṇu ta:y- aik- ka:n- a:tu tavi- it- atu
calf mother-acc. to see-neg. distress-past-PT
'The calf distressed without seeing its mother'
15. aṇa at- an poruḷ puri-ya:tu viṇi- u- a:ḷ
she that-poss. meaning know-neg. blink-past-PT
'She stared without knowing the meaning of it'
16. avan a:t- a:tu acai-y-a:tu ni- n- a:n
he to move-neg. move- neg. stand-past-PT
'He stood without moving this side or that side'
17. avan ellavarrai-y- um ca:ppiṭa muṭi-y-a:tu iṇari- n- a:n
he all- and eat can- neg. struggle-past-PT
'He struggled to eat all'
18. kaṇṇu ta:y-ai-k ka:na:mal tavittatu
19. aṇa atan poruḷ puriya:mal viṇitta:ḷ
20. avan a:ta:mal acaiya:mal ninn-a:n
21. avan ella:varrai-yum ca:ppiṭa muṭiya:mal tavitt-a:n

4.1.9. Modal Auxiliary²

The modal auxiliary verb kuṭum is added to an infinitive form of verb to express probability in FT as in

1. murugaṇ iṇṇu var- a-k- kuṭum
Murugaṇ today come-inf. aux.
'Murugaṇ may come today'

2. a:ciriyar inru ku:ṭṭa-til pe:c-ak- ku:ṭum
teacher today meeting-loc. to speak-inf. aux.
'Teacher may speak in the meeting today'
3. inru maṭai var-a-k- ku:ṭum
today rain come-inf. aux.
'It may rain today'
4. na:lai vellam var-a-k- ku:ṭum
tomorrow flood come-inf. aux.
'Flood may come tomorrow'

The above shown constructions using modal auxiliary ku:ṭum are very rare in IT. This kind of sentences which express probability are formed by using the auxiliary³ a:m instead of ku:ṭum to express the same meaning. However, the auxiliary a:m is used both in Formal and Informal Tamil. The auxiliary a:m is added with the verbal noun.

5. murugan inru varala:m
'Murugan may come today'
6. murugan inru u:rukkup-po:kala:m
'Murugan may go home today'
7. inru maṭe varala:m
'It may rain today/Rain may come today'
8. na:lai vellam varala:m
'Flood may come tomorrow'

4.1.10. Participial Noun

The participial noun is formed by the combination of verb + tense + third person as shown below:

paṭi+tt+avan 'he who read'

paṭi+kkir+avan	'he who reads'
paṭi+pp+avan	'he who will read'
cey+t+avan	'he who did'
cey+kir+avan	'he who does'
cey+p+avan	'he who will do'

It may be observed that FT derives the participial noun by using all the three tense markers. But IT has both past participial noun and present participial noun but not the future participial noun. Instead of future participial noun, it has the present participial noun.

4.1.11. Verbal Noun

The verbal noun is derived by adding the suffixes -al, -tal and kai. The suffixes -al, -tal and -kai are added to the verb and the suffix -atu is added to the verb + tense to derive the verbal noun. The verbal nouns are otherwise called as nominalized verb forms (Lehmann, 1989).

-al	-tal	-kai	
o:tal	o:tu-tal		'running'
varal	varu-tal	varu-kai	'coming'
eY-al	eY-u-tal	eY-u-kai	'raising'
paṭi-kk-al			'reading'
paṭi-tt-al			
naṭa-tt-al	naṭattu-tal		'walking'
	po:-tal	po:-kai	'going'
	ce:r-tal	ce:r-kkai	'joining'
	va:Y-tal	va:Y-kkai	'life'
e:r-al	e:ru-tal		'climbing'
ku:t-al	ku:tu-tal		'joining'
aY-al	aY-u-tal	aY-u-kai	'weeping'
ka:tt-al	ka:ttu-tal		'showing'
te:t-al	te:tu-tal		'searching'
eYut-al	eYutu-tal		'writing'

The derivation of verbal nouns shows that all the nouns are not taking all the suffixes to derive verbal nouns. The verbal nouns which are formed by adding the suffix -kai is not very common in IT, though the noun like ceykai (ceyke) is found in IT. The verbal nouns which are derived by adding the suffixes -al and -tal are also not common in IT. The verbal nouns are derived by adding the suffix -atu to the verb + present⁴ tense are common in IT as shown below:

pe:cu-kir-atu	'talking'
te:tu-kir-atu	'searching'
pa:tu-kir-atu	'singing'
eYutu-kir-atu	'writing'
po:-kir-atu	'going'
o:tu-kir-atu	'running'
varu-kir-atu	'coming'
natak-kir-atu	'walking'
paṭik-kir-atu	'reading'
a:tu-kir-atu	'dancing'

4.1.12. Pronominalized Numerals

The pronominalized cardinal numerals are derived by adding singular masculine suffix -an, singular feminine suffix -al, -tti and singular honorific suffix -ar to the adjectival form of the cardinal numerals (Lehmann, 1989) as shown below:

oru-v-an	'one man'
oru-v-al	'one woman'
oru-tti	'one lady'
oru-tt-an	'one man'
oru-v-ar	'one man' (hon.)
iru-v-ar	'two men' (hon.)
mu:-v-ar	'three men'
na:l-v-ar	'four men'

The -ar denotes the honorific singular as well as plural number. Cardinal numerals are used in FT. In IT the post-position *pe:r* 'person' is used to derive the pronominalized cardinal numerals. However, the pronominalized cardinal numerals which are derived by adding *pe:r* are used in FT also and the pronominalized cardinal numerals *oruvan* and *orutti* are used in IT also. The other pronominalized cardinal numerals of IT are shown below:

<i>rentu-pe:r</i>	'two persons'
<i>mu:nu-pe:r</i>	'three persons'
<i>na:lu-pe:r</i>	'four persons'
<i>añcu-pe:r</i>	'five persons'
<i>a:ru-pe:r</i>	'six persons'

4.1.13. Temporal Clause

The temporal clause constructions, such as *varum-poYutu* 'while coming', *etukkum-poYutu* 'while taking', etc., are derived by adding the postposition *poYutu* to the relative participle.

1. *avar varum- poYutu na:n iru-nt- e:n*
he (hon.) coming-while I be- tense-PT
'I was there while he is coming'
2. *murukan etukkum- poYutu na:n par-t- e:n*
Murugan taking- while I see- tense-PT
'I saw while Murugan is taking'
3. *murukan kotukkum- poYutu na:n iru-nt- e:n*
Murugan giving- while I be- tense-PT
'I was there while Murugan is giving'

The temporal clause constructions which are derived by adding *poYutu* in FT have the suffix *-pa* in the infinitival form of verbs, as in *var-a-pa* 'while coming', *etuk-kir-a-pa* 'while taking'. The suffix *-pa*

cannot be derived from poYutu by regular phonological rules and so it is treated as different morpheme from poYutu. In otherwords, it is an example of morpheme replacement. The temporal clause constructions in IT are shown below:

4. avar vara-pa na:n irunte:n
'I was there while he is coming'
5. murukan etukkra-pa na:n pa:rtte:n
'I saw while Murugan is taking'
6. murukan kotukkra-pa na:n irunte:n
'I was there while Murugan is giving'

4.1.14. Imperative

The verb stem is used as simple imperative. In FT, infinitive + um, such as vara+um > vara-v-um is used as imperative, but this kind of imperative is not used in IT. The infinitive + um type of imperative constructions may be seen below:

1. ni na:lai tavara:mal vara-v-um
you tomorrow without fail imp.
'You come tomorrow without fail'
2. ni itaikke:ttuc- colla-v-um
you this-acc.-after asking imp.
'You tell after enquiring'
3. ni itaic ceyya-v-um
you this-acc. imp.
'You do it'

4. aṇku enakku oru iṭam pa:rttuvaikka-v-um
there to me one place reserve-imp.
'You reserve a place for me there'
5. itai inru eṭuti muṭikkav-um
this-acc. today having written-imp.
'You should finish this writing today'

4.1.15. Degrees of Comparison⁵

The comparative degree is expressed by adding the suffixes -inum, -ilum and viṭa both in FT and IT. The suffixes -inum and -ilum are used in FT and the suffix -viṭa is used in IT. The suffixes are added to the noun in FT. But in IT the suffix viṭa is added to noun + accusative case. The sentences with the suffixes -inum, -ilum and -viṭa to express the comparative degree are given below:

1. kural ga:natti-in-um inimaiya-ka irunt- atu
voice song- loc. sweet- inf. be-past-PT
'The voice was sweeter than the song'
2. murukan enn-ilum aṭaka:navan
Murugan me- than beautiful
'Murugan is more handsome than me'
3. atu malaiy- inum periyatu
that mountain-than big
'That is bigger than mountain'
4. iravu munn ilum iruṇṭatu
night before-than dark-past-PT
'The night darkened than before'

5. kural pa:tt-ai-vita inimaiya:ka iruntatu
'The voice was sweeter than the song'
6. avan enn-ai-viṭa periyavan
'He is elder than me'
7. murukan enn-ai-viṭa eraka:navan
'Murugan is more handsome than me'
8. iravu munn-ai-viṭa iruṇṭuvittatu
'The night darkened than before'

4.1.16. Noun Formation

The nominalizing suffix such as a:li as in ka:val-a:li 'watchman', and -mai as in maḍa-mai 'stupidity' are used in FT. These two suffixes are used to derive noun in some cases in IT. The words such as

kolai-y-a:li	'murderer'
kutṭa-v-a:li	'criminal'
ku:tt-a:li	'friend'
pa:tt-a:li	'labourer'
mutal-a:li	'proprietor'
toṭil-a:li	'labourer'

are used in FT. The words mutala:li and toṭil-a:li are common in IT also. The other words with the nominalizing suffix a:li are also possible in IT but their frequency is very less compared to the derived nouns with the nominalizer ka:ran as in

ka:val-karan
kolai-karan

However, the other derived nouns with the suffix a:li cannot take the suffix ka:ran.

The nominalizing suffix -mai is added to adjectives to derive nouns as in

peru-mai	'greatness'
citu-mai	'smallness'
a:n-mai	'manliness'
pe:n-mai	'womanliness'
talai-mai	'head'
maḍa-mai	'ignorance'

These nouns with -mai are common in FT, but these are not common in IT. However, there are a few nouns in IT which are derived by adding the suffix -mai as in perumai, nanmai, ti:mai. These nouns may be derived by adding the postposition tanam as in

maḍat-tanam	'ignorance'
cinnat-tanam	'smallness'
periya-tanam	'greatness'
nalla-tanam	'goodness'
kuYantait-tanam	'childishness'
co:mpe:rit-tanam	'laziness'
ko:Yait-tanam	'cowardliness'

4.1.17. Gender and Number

The third person neuter endings are used with human nouns to indicate ambivalence about respect in IT. This kind of constructions are not found in FT. The sentences with third person neuter endings are shown below:

1. akka va- nt- atu/vant-u-ccu
elder sister come-past-PT PT
'Elder sister came'
2. akka enn-ai vara-c-conn-atu/coll-i-ccu
elder sister I- acc. to come- tell-PT PT
'Elder sister told me to come'

3. annan it-ai eYuta-c- conn-atu/colli-ccu
elder brother it-acc. to write- tell-PT PT
'Elder brother told me to write this'
4. annan var- um
elder brother come-PT
'Elder brother will come'
5. annan it-ai- c- conn-atu/colli-ccu
elder brother it-acc.- tell-PT PT
'Elder brother told this'

There is no gender distinction in the third person plural in FT. But some dialects of IT, distinguish masculine and feminine gender in third person human plural as shown below:

6. avan-uvo va- nt- a:n-uvo
he- pl. come-past-PT- pl.
'They came' (mas.)
7. avan-uvo var- a:n-uvo
he- pl. come-PT- pl.
'They are coming' (mas.)
8. aval-uvo va- nt- a:l- uvo
she- pl. come-tense-PT- pl.
'They came' (fem.)
9. aval-uvo var a:l- uvo
she- pl. come-PT- pl.
'They are coming' (fem.)

4.2. Syntax

There is not much difference in syntax between FT and IT. In general, the sentences are comparatively simple in IT, whereas in FT, there are more number of compound and complex sentences. The frequency of use of compound and complex sentences in FT varies according to the subject matter also. For example, in legal documents and research papers there are more number of complex and compound sentences but in novels and short stories they are comparatively few.

The following are some differences in the surface structure of sentences of FT and IT.

4.2.1. Infinitive + Verbs of Mental State

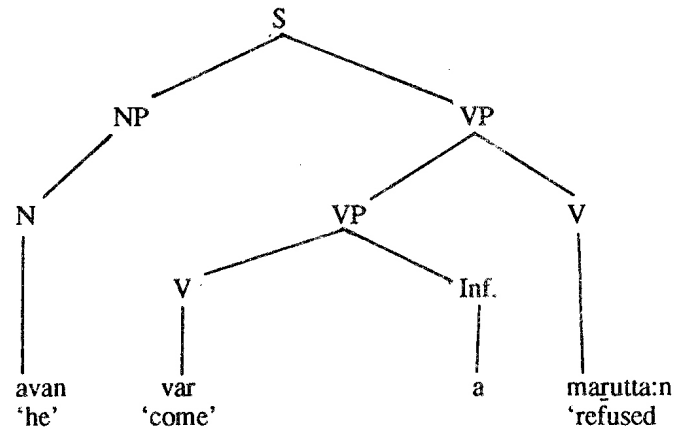
Verbs like maru 'to refuse', ottukkoḷ 'to accept', virumpu 'to want', etc., which may be called verbs of mental state, take infinitive as their complements in FT as given below:

1. avan vara- maru- tt- aan
he to come refuse-past-PT
'He refused to come'
2. avaḷ colla- maru- tt- aaḷ
she to say-refuse-past-PT
'She refused to tell'
3. na:n eḻuta oppukko-ṇṭ- e:n
I to write accept- past- PT
'I accepted to write'
4. avar pe:ca ottukko- ṇṭ- a:r
he to speak to accept-past-PT
'He accepted to speak'

5. na:ŋkaḷ pa:rkka-virump-in- o:m
 we to see wish- past-PT
 'We wanted to see'

6. aḷ me:ṭai-y-il a:ṭa- virump-in- a:ḷ
 she stage- loc. to dance- wish- past-PT
 'She wanted to dance on the stage'

The surface structure of these sentences may be represented in a tree diagram as shown below:



The verbs of mental state do not occur or are very rare in IT. The corresponding sentences are formed with finite verb followed by quotative verb -ŋne:n. This may be seen in the following sentences.

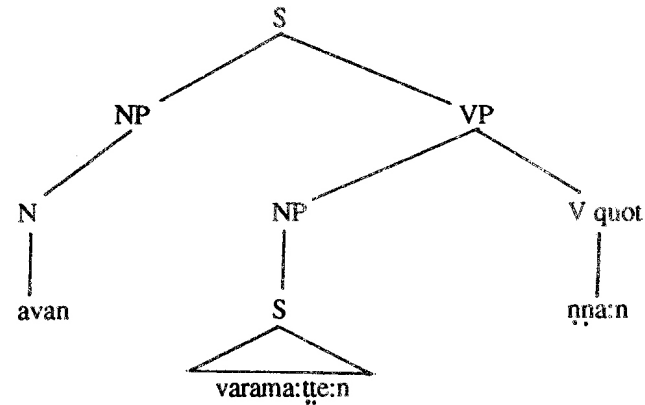
7. avan vara- ma:ṭṭ-e:n-ŋŋ- a:n
 he to come-neg.- quot-PT
 'He said "I will not come" '

8. na:n po:-r- e:n-ŋŋ- e:n
 I go- pre-PT- quot-PT
 'I said, "I will go" '

9. aval paṭu-r- e:n-ṇṇ- a:|
 she sing- pre-PT- quot-PT
 'She said, "she will sing" '

10. ni collu-r- e:n-ṇṇ- e
 you say- pre-PT- quot-PT
 'You said, "you will tell" '

The surface structure of these sentences may be represented in a tree diagram as shown below:



4.2.2. Coordination of Nouns

When there are two nouns to conjoin, conjunctive particle -um is added with the nouns as in kaṇṇan-um, kuma:r-um both in FT and IT. When there are more than two nouns, the conjunctive particle is not added with nouns as stated earlier in IT, but the summative word ella 'all' is added after all the nouns. The sentences with conjunctive particles in FT are as shown below:

1. kaṇṇan- um kuma:r- um neṭṭu iṇku va- nt- a:r ka|
 Kannan-and Kumar- and yesterday here come-past-PT
 'Kannan and Kumar came here yesterday'

2. na:n pe:na-v-um puttakam-um koṭu-tt- e:n
I pen- and book- and give-past-PT
'I gave pen and book'
3. avan itli-y-um to:sai-y-um ca:pṭi-tt- a:n
he idli and dosai and eat- past-PT
'He ate idli and dosa'

The surface structure of these sentences may be as this:

$$S \rightarrow N + N_{\text{Conj}} + N_{\text{Conj}} + N_{\text{Conj}} + V$$

In FT also, there are sentences similar to this where the summative words like a:kiya 'all, everybody' and mutaliya, a participle connecting two nouns in apposition are used. This kind of construction may be seen in the following sentences:

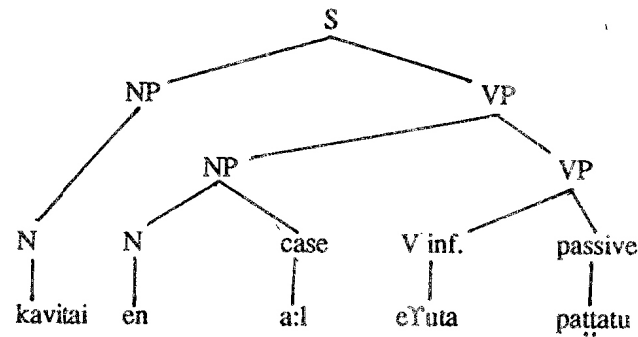
4. kaṇṇan, kuma:r, kamalam a:kiyo:r vā- nt- a:rkaḷ
Kannan Kumar Kamalam etcetra come-past-PT
'Kannan, Kumar and Kamalam came'
5. na:n citamparam maturai maisu:r a:kiya u:r- kaḷ-
I Chidambaram Madurai Mysore etcetra place-pl.
ukku-p-po:-n- e:n
to go- past-PT
'I went to Chidambaram, Madurai and Mysore'
6. kaṇṇan, kuma:r, kamalam mutaliyo:r vanta:rkaḷ
'Kannan, Kumar and Kamalam came'
7. na:n citamparam, maturai maisu:r mutaliya
u:rkaḷukkuppo:ne:n
'I went to Chidambaram, Madurai and Mysore'

4.2.3. Passive Construction

In the formation of passive sentence the subject nounphrase is changed into nounphrase with instrumental case suffix, the object nounphrase is changed into subject nounphrase and *patu* 'to experience' is added to the infinitive form of the verb. This kind of passive construction is found only in FT but not in IT.

1. *avaḷ oru kavitai eYut- in- a:l (Active)*
 she one poem write-past-PT
 'She wrote a poem'
- 1a. *oru kavitai avaḷ-a:l eYut- a- p-paṭ- t- atu (Passive)*
 one poem she- instru. write-inf. experience-past-PT
 'One poem was written by her'
2. *suntaram oru na:ṭakam eYut- in- a:r (Active)*
 Sundaram one drama write-past-PT
 'Sundaram wrote a drama'
- 2a. *oru na:ṭakam suntaram+tt-a:l eYut- a- p-paṭ-
 one drama Sundaram- instru. write-inf. experience-
 t- atu (Passive)*
 past-PT
 'A drama was written by Sundaram'
3. *na:n oru maram vaḷar-tt- e:n (Active)*
 I one tree grow- past-PT
 'I grew a tree'
- 3a. *oru maram enn-a:l vaḷar-kka-p- paṭ- t- atu*
 one tree I- instru grow- infi. experience-past-PT
 'One tree was grown by me'

The surface structure of the passive sentence may be shown in a tree diagram as shown below:



4.2.4. Dative Subjects

The experiencer verbs like *ko:pam aṭai* 'get angry', *kuṇam aṭai* 'get well', etc., have nominative subject or dative subject. The verb of mental experience like *teriyum* 'know', the verb of emotional experience like *piṭikkum* 'like' and the verb like physical and biological experience like *vayirraippacikkiratu* 'stomach feel hungry', *talaiyai valikkiratu* 'have headache', etc., take Dative Case Nounphrases and have the semantic role of the recipient of an experience. So, these Nounphrases may be referred to as Dative Experiencer Nounphrases (Lehmann, 1989 : 185).

FT has both the dative and nominative subjects whereas IT has only the dative subject with the auxiliary verb *paṭu*. The following sentences have nominative subject.

1. *avaḷ ko:pam- aṭai-nt- a:l*
 she anger get- past-PT
 'She got angry'
2. *na:n kuṇam- aṭai-nt- e:n*
 I well- get- past-PT
 'I got cured'

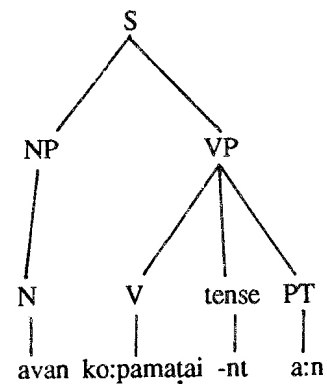
3. ni la:pam- atai-nt- a:y
 you profit- get- past-PT
 'You got profit'

The corresponding sentences with dative subject found in both IT and FT are seen below:

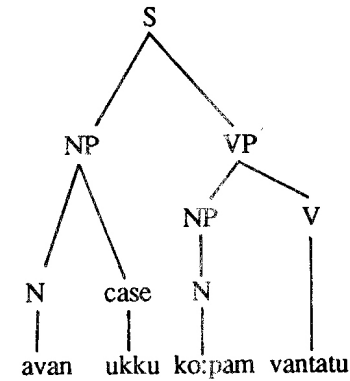
4. aṭ-ukku ko:pam va- nt- atu
 she- dative anger come-past-PT
Lit: 'Anger to her came'
5. en-akku kuṇam a:ki- y- atu
 I- dative cure to become-past-PT
Lit: 'Curing to me became'
6. un- akku la:pam va- nt- atu
 you-dative profit come- past-PT
Lit: 'Profit to you came'

These two types of sentences may be shown in the tree diagram as shown below:

Nominative Subject



Dative Subject



4.2.5. Honorific and Non-honorific Forms

The use of honorific suffixes, such as -*ŋka* and -*aiya*, and non-honorific suffixes, such as -*ppa*, -*ta* and -*ti* both in imperative and non-imperative sentences are restricted to IT only.

1. *itu enna-ŋka*
this what-hon.
'What is this, Sir'
2. *uŋkaŋ-ukku enna ve:nu- ŋka*
you- to what want- hon.
'What do you want, Sir'
3. *eŋka u:r nalla u:ru- ŋka*
our village good village-hon
'Our village is a good village, Sir'
4. *ni enta u:ra- ppa*
you which village-non-hon.
'Which is your native place'
5. *un-a-kku enna-ppa ve:num*
you- to what-non-hon. want
'What do you want'
6. *ni aŋke ukka:r-a-ppa*
you there sit non-hon
'You sit there'
7. *ni eŋke- ta po:-ne*
you where-non-hon. go-past
'Where did you go, boy'

8. un caṭṭai eṅke-ṭa
you shirt where-boy
'Where is your shirt, boy'
9. itai eṅke-ṭi vaṅku-n-e
this-acc. where-girl buy- past
'Where did you buy, girl'
10. iṭu enno-oṭe poṭava-ṭi
this my- poss. sari- girl
'This is my sari, girl'

4.2.6. Relativizing Dative Case NP

Dative case NP functions as indirect object, is relativized (Annamalai, 1969; Lehmann, 1989). Relativized dative case NPs are shown in the following sentences. All the sentences under [a] have dative case NPs which function as indirect object and all the sentences which are under [b] are the relativized dative case NPs.

- * 1a. ra:man-ukku kaṇṇan-ai- p- piṭikk-a:- tu
Raman- dat. kannan-acc. like- neg.-PT
'Raman does not like Kannan'
- 1b. kaṇṇan-ai- p-piṭikk-a:t- a ra:man avan-ai aṭi-
Kannan-acc. like- neg.-adj. Raman he- acc. beat-
tt- a:n
-past-PT
'Raman, who does not like Kannan, beat him'
- 2a. koṭṭe-y-ukku ka:nti-y-ai- p-piṭikk-a:- tu
Godse dat. Gandhi- acc.- like- neg.-PT
'Godse did not like Gandhi'

2b. ka:nti-y-ai- p-piṭikk-a:t- a ko:ṭse avar-ai-c-
 Gandhi- acc. like- neg.-adj. Gotse he- acc.
 cuṭ- t- a:n
 shot-past-PT
 'Goodse, who did not like Gandhi, shot him'

3a. co:Yan-ukku-p-paṇṭiyan-ai- p-piṭikk-a- tu
 Chola- dat. Pandya- acc.- like- neg. PT
 'Chola did not like Pandya'

3b. paṇḍiyan-ai- p-piṭikk-a:t- a co:Yan avan-uṭan
 Pandya- acc.- like- neg.-adj. Chola he- with
 caṇṭai-po:t-t a:n
 fight past-PT
 'Chola, who did not like Pandya, fought with him'

Though this type of sentences where the Dative case NP is relativized are possible in IT, it is not common as it is in FT. The negative adjectival constructions, such as piṭikka:ta in the relativized sentences, is used as purpose clause as piṭikka:tata:l 'because (he) does not like', in IT. Sometimes, the whole sentence is simplified and used as two simple sentences.

4. kaṇṇan-ai-p-piṭikka:ta-ta:l ra:man avan-ai-aṭitta:n
 'Because Raman does not like Kannan, he beat him'

5. ra:man-ukku kaṇṇan-ai-ppiṭikka:tu; atana:l ra:man
 kaṇṇan-ai aṭitta:n
 'Raman does not like Kannan; so Raman beat Kannan'

6. paṇṭiyan-ai-ppiṭikka:tat-a:l co:Yan avan-uṭan caṇṭai-po:ṭta:n
 'Because Chola did not like Pandya, he fought with him'

7. co:Yan-ukku pa:nṭiyan-ai ppiṭikka-tu; atana:l pa:nṭan uṭan
co:Yan caṇṭai po:ṭṭa:n
'Chola did not like Pandya; so, Chola fought with Pandya'

4.2.7. Infinitive Clause

An infinitive clause is embedded into a main clause which has adverbial function (Annamalai, 1969; Lehmann, 1989).

1. avan uṭampui laikka ka:l pantu a:ṭin- a:n
he body to reduce foot-ball to play-past-PT
'He played foot-ball to reduce weight'
2. na:n kuṇam aṭaiya amma viratam irunt- a:l
I to get cured mother fasting be-past-PT
'Mother was fasting so that I got cured'
3. ceṭi vaḷara aval tuppīr i:ṭṭ-in- a:l
plant to grow she water pour-past-PT
'She poured water to grow the plant'

An infinitive clause with adverbial function can have semantic interpretations, such as purpose, cause, time and result (Annamalai, 1980; Paramasivam, 1983; Lehmann, 1989) as shown below:

Purpose:

4. na:n katai eYuta pe:na eṭu- tt- e:n
I story to write pen take-past-PT
'I took pen to write story'

Cause:

5. avan kall- ai eṭukka na:y o:ṭi-y- atu
he stone-acc. to take dog run-past-PT
'He took stone so that the dog ran'

Time:

6. kaṇṇan paṭam varaiya maṇiyan kavitai eṭuti-in- a:n
Kannan picture to draw Maniyan poem write-past-PT
'While Kannan drew picture, Maniyan wrote poem'

Result:

7. avan kall- a:l aṭikka paṭam ki:Ye viYu-nt- atu
he stone-inst. to hit fruit down fall-past-PT
'Because he hit with stone, the fruit fell down'

This type of infinitive clause construction having adverbial function is not new to IT. The following infinitive clause constructions are to some extent peculiar to IT.

8. avan enn-ai rattam vara aṭi- tt- a:n
he I- acc. blood to come beat-past-PT
'He beat me so that blood came'

9. avan na:n pa:rkka-p-pira-nta paiyyan
he I to see born boy
'When I saw he was born'

I think, the sentence in 9 does not occur in FT. It shows that the infinitive clause construction is not new to IT. However, most of the infinitive clause constructions in IT used the actual words for the semantic interpretations, such as purpose, cause, time and result. For example, the forms, such as a:ka 'in order to', a:l 'because of', poYutu, 'when' and paṭi 'so that' are used for the semantic interpretations, such as purpose, cause, time and result respectively (Annamalai, 1980). This may be seen in the following examples.

Purpose:

10. avaḷ ceṭi vaḷar-vatar ka:ka-t- taṇṇi:r u:ṛrina:ḷ
she plant grow that-in order water pour-past-PT
'She poured water in order to grow the plant'

11. talaivar varum- poYutu tonṭarkaḷ eYuntunira:arkaḷ
leader to come-while followers having stood-PT
'When the leader came, the followers stood up'
12. avan kall- a:l aṭi- u- at-a:l paYam ki:Ye
he stone-instr. beat-past- because of fruit down
viru-nt- atu
fall- past-PT
'Because he beat with stone, the fruit fell down'
13. avaḷ-ukku kaṇṇi:r varumpati avan titt- in- a:n
she-dat. tear to come-like he scold-past-PT
'He scolded her so that tears rolled'
14. avan-ukku ko:pam varump-pati/ma:ru tittina:n
'He scolded so that anger came to him'
'He scolded him so that he got angry'

4.2.8. Alternative Questions

Alternative questions are formed by adding interrogative clitic -a: as 'or' coordinator after each element conjoined. The clitic -a: occurs with nouns, postpositions, adverbs and questions but not with adjectives (Lehmann, 1989).

1. uṅkaḷ-ukku puttakam-a: pe:na-v-a: ve:ṇṭum
you- dat. book- clitic pen- clitic like
'Do you want book or pen?'
2. avan katai-y-a: pa:tt- a: eYutu-kiṭ- a:n
he story- clitic song-clitic write-pre. PT
'Does he write story or poem?'

3. avalu na:taḱam-a: cinima-v-a: pa:r-kkir-a:ḷ
 she drama- clitic cinema- clitic see- pre. PT
 'Does she see drama or cinema?'

4. avan ca:ppa:t-a: to:cai-y-a: ca:ppit-ti a:n
 he meal- clitic dosa- clitic eat- past-PT
 'Did he eat meal or dosa?'

The interrogative clitic -a: occurs with predicates in IT rather than with the elements to be conjoined as it is in FT.

5. una-kku pe:na ve:nṭum-a: allatu puttakam ve:nṭum-a:
 you-dat. pen want- clitic or book want- clitic
 'Do you want pen or book?'

Here, the word allatu 'or' is optional.

6. avan katai eYutu kiṛ- a:n- a: pa:ṭṭu
 he story to write-pre. 3rd mas. clitic song
 eYutu kiṛ- a:n- a:
 write- pre. 3rd mas.-clitic
 'Does he write story or song?'

7. uṅkaḷ-ukku pa:l ve:nṭum-a: paYam ve:nṭum-a:
 you- dat. milk want- clitic fruit want- clitic
 'Do you want milk or fruit?'

8. anna:malai katai eYutu-kiṛ- a:r- a:
 Annamalai story write-pre. 3rd mas.hon.-clitic
 katturai eYutu-kiṛ- a:r- a:
 article write-pre. 3rd mas.hon.- clitic
 'Does Annamalai write story or article?'

The same type of interrogative sentences are produced in a different way where the interrogative sentences occur first and the constituents to be conjoined occur with the clitic -a: as 'or' coordinator as a sort of tag question in IT

9. una-kku enna ve:ṇṭum; pe:na-v-a: puttakam-a:
'What do you want? Pen or book?'
10. ni enna ca:ppitukir-a:y; to:cai-y-a: idi-y-a:
'What do you eat? Dosa or idali?'
11. ni na:laikku etaipparrippe:cukir-a:y; cinima:vaipparri-y-a
na:ṭakattaipparri-ya:
'What are you going to speak tomorrow? On cinema or drama?'

4.3. Reduplication of Verbs

IT has a sort of idiomatic usages where certain verbs with tense markers are reduplicated which convey different meanings from the meanings of the individual verbs, such as colla colla 'while telling', vara vara 'now-a-days', po:ka po:ka 'if one goes further', kaṇṭa kaṇṭa 'not good, different', etc., as shown below:

1. ra:n colla colla avan ke:ṭka:mal po:y-viṭ-ta:n
I while telling he hear-neg-nom. go- leave-past-PN
'While I was telling he went away without listening me'
2. vara vara avan-utaiya-naṭattai nalla illai
now-a-days he- poss. behaviour good not
'His behaviour is not good now-a-days'

3. innum po:ka-p-po:ka nalla teriym
see go further good see
'It will be seen clearly if one goes further'
4. avan kaṇṭakaṇṭa manitar-kaḷ-ūṭaṇ toṭarpu
he unwanted man- pl.-with relation
vai- u- uḷḷa:n
keep-past- be-PT
'He has relationship with unwanted people'
5. avan kaṇṭa kaṇṭa iṭaṇ kaḷ-ukku-p-po:kiṇ-a:n
'He goes to different places'

The above shown sentences of IT are produced in FT with the actual words which convey the meanings of the idiomatic usages of the reduplicated verbs.

6. na:n collik koṇṭirukkum poṭute avan ke:ṭka:mal
I say- conti. be-fut. while he near-neg.-nomi.
po:y vitta:n
gone leave-past-PT
'When I was telling he went away without listening me'
7. ippoṭutu avan-ūṭaiya naṭattai naṇra:ka illai
now he- poss.- behaviour good-adv. not
'His behaviour is not good now-a-days'
8. innum ciṇitu tu:ram cenra:l naṇra:katteriyum
still little distance if goes good-adv-see-fut.
'If one goes a little distance, it will be seen clearly'

9. avan keṭṭavarkaḷ-uṭan toṭarpu vaittuḷḷa:n
he bad- people-poss. relation keep-be-PT
'He has friendship with bad people'
10. avan pala iṭṭarkaḷ-ukku-p- po:kiṛ-a:n
he many place-pl.-dat.- go-pre-PT
'He goes to many places'

5

LEXICAL DIFFERENCES: FORMAL AND INFORMAL TAMIL

1. This chapter deals on the differences in the lexical items of FT and IT. Lexical items with only phonological differences are not considered here and they are accounted for in the phonological component discussed in the earlier chapters.

The following two works have been taken as basis for comparing the lexical items of FT with that of IT.

1. Tamil Lexicon, VII. Volumes.
2. *krya:vin tarka:lattamiY akara:ti*

Tamil lexicon has many archaic words which are not used in modern Tamil. Tamil lexicon has listed many meanings for a single word in many cases, which are not prevalent in modern Tamil. Apart from literary words with meanings and illustrations from Tamil literatures, Tamil lexicon has given words from many dialects of Tamil as many as 59.

Since the present study compares the words of modern literary words with the words of standard spoken Tamil only the literary words are taken into consideration to compare the lexical items of FT and IT on the basis of subjective evaluation of the words of Tamil Lexicon.

krya:vin tarka:lattamiṭ akara:ti has given words from modern literary Tamil apart from words from few dialects. This dictionary has given the information that a particular literary Tamil word belongs to High Tamil usage (uyar vaṭakku). This helped to identify the literary words which are not used in the modern spoken Tamil. The High Tamil usages are not used in IT. However, this list is not complete.

The list of words which occur only in FT with no corresponding words in IT is not given here because they belong to different registers like science, literature, etc., and they may figure in the informal speech dealing with these subjects, if it happens at all.

The list of pairs of lexical items of which the ones in the first column occur only in FT and the ones in the second column occur in IT as well as in FT.

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/FT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
akkini	neruppu	fire
akkinikuṇṭam	o:makuṇṭam	enclosed pit for consecrated fire
akkiniccuva:lai	tikkoṭuntu	flame of fire
akam	uḷ	internal
akal	ni:ṇku, vilaku	to move away
akavai	vayatu	age
akaṭ	to:ṇtu	to dig
akkaru	ni:kku, vilakku	to remove
aṇki:kari	oppukkoḷ	to accept
aṇkam	pakuti	portion

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/FT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
añcali	vañakkam	solute, praise
aññanam	appaṭi	like that
ataikkalam	pa:tuka:val/ tañcamataital	asylum
annam	me:l va:y	palate
anpal	me:l va:ypal	upper teeth
añikalam	a:paraṇam/nakai	ornament
añinturai	munnurai	preface
antaṇan	bra:maṇan	Brahmin
aparimitam	atikam	unlimitedness
amar	utka:r	to sit
amarar	te:var	celetials
amiY	mu:Ygu	to sink
amutu	co:ru	cooked rice
arta pe:tam	poruḷve:rupa:tu	difference in meaning
araṇkam/araṇku	me:ṭai	stage
ariyaṇai/ ariya:canam	cimma:canam	throne
aruṇo:tayam	atika:lai/cu:riyo:tayam	day break
arumputal	muḷaivitutal	to sprout

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/FT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
aruvi	ni:r vi:Yci	waterfall
aruḷ	karuṇai/irakkam	mercy, grace
aruḷma:ri	karuṇaimaYai	shower of blessing
aruḷa:lan	irakkamullavan	one who is full of grace
alaikkaYi	alayaviṭu	to be harassed, troubled
avva:ru	appaṭi	in that manner
ava:vu	virumpu	to desire, wish for
ava:varutal	a:caiyai aYittal	to destroy desire
aḷavaḷa:vu	kalantu pe:cu	converse freely
aṇaṇeri	nalvaYi	path of virtue
aṇam	tarmam	moral duty
aṇi	terintukoḷ	to know
arituyil	pa:ti tu:kkam pa:ti viYippu	a state of sleep in which the person is conscious of the outer world
aṇivi	teriyappaṭuttu	to make known
aṇivuruttu	teriyappaṭuttu	to make known
aṇuti	muṭivu	end, termination
aṇumukan	murugakkaṭavuḷ	Lord Murugan
aṇri	alla:mal/illa:mal	unless

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/FT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
annam	co:ru	cooked rice
anniyān	putiyavan	stranger
annai	amma	mother
anutinam	tinamtinam	daily
anaittu	ella:mum	the whole
anaivarum	ella:rum	all people
astiram	ampu	arrow
a:karṣi	iY'u	to attract
a:ka:camāṇṭalam	va:navēli	the celestial sphere
a:canam	irukkai	seat
a:tal	na:tṭiyam	dance
a:ṭavan	a:ṇmakan	male, man
a:ṇṭu	varuṣam	year
a:tmañā:nam/ a:tmataricanam	tannai arital	self-realization
a:tma ñā:ni	tannai arintavan	one who has realized oneself
a:tavan	cu:riyan	Sun
a:paraṇam	nakai	ornament
a:mpal	alli	waterlily

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/FT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
a:yi [̣] ai	pe [̣]	woman
a:rppari	a:rava:ram cey	to shout, resound
a:ra [̣] niyam	ka:tu	forest
a:ra:ti	pu:cai cey/ va:Y [̣] ttu	to worship to adore
a:li [̣] nanam	taY [̣] uvutal	embracing
a:Y [̣]	mu:Y [̣] gu	to sink, to be overwhelmed
a:rral	cakti, takuti	effort, ability
a:roY [̣] ukku	ni:ro:ttam	current of water
ikaY [̣]	avamati	to insult, slight
i [̣] nnanam	ippa [̣] ti	this manner
icai	poruntu/ ca [̣] ŋki:tam	to fit in, harmonize music
i [̣] tar	tunpam	suffering
i [̣] tarppa:tu	tunpam	suffering
i [̣] tarppa [̣] tu	tunpappa [̣] tu	to suffer
i [̣] tukkan [̣]	tunpam	distress
i [̣] tumpai	tunpam	distress
i [̣] taiyu:ru	tatai	obstruction
immai	ippirappu	the present birth

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/FT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
imaippoYutu	koñcane:ram	a brief moment of time
iyakku	celuttu	cause to go
iyaṅku	po, cel	go, move
iyampu	collu	to say
iyalpu	kunam	nature
iyarru	eYutu	write, compose
iyaital	poruntutal	agreement, harmony
iranape:rikai	po:rparai	battle-drum
iravalan	piccaikka:ran	beggar
ira:cakkirukam	araṇmanai	royal palace
irukkai	uṭka:rumiṭam	seat
illakkiYatti/ illattaraci	manaivi	wife
illam	vi:tu	house
illaram	kuṭumpava:Ykkai	domestic life
illa:l	manaivi	wife
iYi	iṅṅku	to descend
iṅṅka:lai	atika:lai	early morning
iṅnakai	puncirippu	smile
ilaiñan	ciṅruvan	small boy, young man

FT	IT/FT	English Meaning
ilave:nil	ko:taika:lattotakkam	beginning of summer
iguti	mutivu, aYivu	end, destruction
igumpu:teytu	perumitamikoḷ	feel elated
irai	kaṭavul	God
iraimai	kaṭavul tanmai	divinity
iraivan	kaṭavul	God
irañcu	keñcu	to plead
inna	ippatippaṭṭa	such things
innal	tunpam	trouble, pain
initu	nallatu	good
inimai	inpam	pleasure, delight
inri	illa:mal/alla:mal	without
inriyamaiya:mai	avaciyam	indispensability
i:tal	koṭuttal	giving
i:kai	tarmam, koṭai	gift, grant
i:kaiya:lan	koṭaiya:li	one who gives liberally
i:ṭṭu	compa:ti	to earn
i:nṭu	iṇku	here
i:r	iru kavaru	to be attracted be drawn out

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/FT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
i:ra:ka	varai	till
i:ru	kataici	end
i:rppu	kavarcci	attraction
i:n	peru	to give birth
i:nra:l	amma	mother
ukantatu	cariya:natu	correct thing
uku	cura	to trickle gently as water from a spring
utu/ani	po:tu	to wear
un	ca:ppitu	to eat
un <i>ti</i>	ca:ppa:tu	meal, food
upayam	tarmam	gift
upa:cakan	vaYipa:upavan	devotee
upa:canai	vaYipa:tu	worship
upa:yam	vaYi	plan
umiY	tuppu	to spit
umiYni:r	eccil	saliva
uy	uyirva:Y	to live
uyttu <i>nar</i>	a:ra:yntuari	to know by careful investigation, observation

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/FT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
ulakiyal	ulakavaYakku	custom of the world
uva-(tal),	makiY-(tal)	to rejoice
uvakai	makiYcci	joy, happiness
ullitu	ce:ru	to include, comprise
ullurai	maraintulla	hidden
urratu	natantatu	that which has happened
uraṅku	tu:ṅku	to sleep
uritimoYi	va:kku	promise
urutunai	nallatunai	good friend
uruppu	pa:kam	part
uraivitam	va:Yumitam	living place
uraiyul	taṅkumitam	boarding
unnatam	uyarntatu	eminence
u:kkam	muyarci	effort, exertion
u:runi	kuḷam	tank
u:Yi	yukam	aeon
u:n	ma:micam	flesh
eytu	aṭai	to obtain
eriyu:ttu	ti:vai/neruppuvai	to set fire

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/FT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
eYil	aYaku	beauty
eYuña:yiru	udayacu:riyan	rising Sun
eYuntaruḷ	vantaruḷ	come and give blessing
ellal	ke:liceytal	laughing to scorn
ellu	ke:licey	to disregard
elitu	culapam	easy
eninum	irunta:lum	even if it is so
e:ku	po:	go
c:ttu	pukaY	to praise
e:rutaYuvutal	ka:laiyai aṭakkutal	controlling a bull
e:rputaiya	takunta	suitable
e:rram	uyarvu	rising
e:runatai	perumitanatai	majestic gait
e:nai	marra	other, the rest
aikkiyam	onra:tal orrumai	oneness unity
aicuvariyam	cottu	property
aiyappa:tu/aiyam	cante:kam	doubt
oli	cattam	sound

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/FT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
ovva:mai	porunta:mai	disagreement
oḷir	oḷivitu	to shine
o:tal	patittal	reading
auṣatam	maruntu	medicine
kattaviṭṭ	malar	to open as petals of a flower
kattalai	uttaravu	order
kata:ṭcam	karuṇai	grace
kaṇku:tu	teḷivu	clear
kaṇkavar	kavarcia:na	attractive
kaṇṇiyam	kauvravam	dignity, honour
kaṇṇurakkam	tu:kkam	sleep
kaṇṇuru	pa:r	see
kaṇpani	kaṇṇi:r vitu	shed tears
kaṇmalar	kaṇṭira	to awake fully
kaṇvalar	tu:ṇku	to sleep
kaṇai	ampu	arrow
kapa:lam	talaiyo:tu	skull
karam	kai	hand
karutu	ninai	to think

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/FT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
karuvi	a:yutam	weapon
kalaimakal	saraswati	Goddess of learning
kaYani	vayal	field
kaYuva:y	pira:yaccittam	purification
kali	santo:ṣam atai	to rejoice
kaliru	ya:nai	elephant
kayal	mi:n	fish
kayamai	ke:valam	meanness
karam	kai	hand
karpi	kar <u>ru</u> kkotu	to teach
karukkol	karutari	conceive
karpi	collik <u>ko</u> tu	to teach
kani	paYam	fruit
ka:n	pa:r	to see
ka:ṇal	pa:rttal	seeing
ka:rpparuvam	maYaikka:lam	rainy season
ka:rikai	peṇ	woman
ka:lko:l	a:rampam	beginning
ka:lade:van/ka:lan	yeman	God of death

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/FT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
ka:nam/ka:nakam	ka:tu	forest
kiṇṇi	ka:lcalanṇkai	tinkling ornament of the anklet
kiri	malai	mountain
kiṭṭamai	urimai	propriety
ki:rtti	pukaṭ	fame
kutakku:li	vi:ttuva:takai	house rent
kutaṁuṭukku	kumpa:piṣe:kam	pouring holy water over the temple structure
kutavaraiko:yil	kukaikko:yil	cave temple
kuruti	rattam	blood
kuṭal	ku:ntal	hair of woman's head
kuṭavi	kuṭantai	child
kuṇṇila mannan	ciṇṇaracan	petty tributary chief
kuṇṇu/kunṇam	cinnamalai	hill
ku:kai	a:ntai	owl
ku:ru	col	to say
ku:ṛṛam	yeman	God of death
ku:ṛru	connatu	that which is said

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/FT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
ke:cam	talaimuṭi	hair of head
ke:ṇmai	natpu	friendship
ke:ḷikkai	poṭutupo:kku	entertainment
ke:ḷir	contakka:rar	relative
kaimpen	vitavai	widow
kaiyu:ttu	laṇcam	bribe
koṇar	koṇṭuva	to bring
koy	pari	to pluck
koṬunan	kaṇavan	husband
ko:kilam	kuyil	cuckoo
ko:ṭpa:ṭu	kolḷai	principle
ko:ṭu	ya:naittantam	tusk
ko:makan/ ko:ma:n	uyarntavar	eminent person
ko:ḷ	kirakam	planet
ko:ḷam	uruṇṭai	sphere
cantiya:ra:kam	cevva:nam	crimson colour of the evening sky
camayakko:ṭpa:ṭu	matanampikkai	religious belief
camar	po:r	war

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/FT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
car <u>ru</u>	koñcam	little while
ca:nra:ñmai	peruntanmai	nobility
ca:nro:r	periyo:r	great man
cikaram	ucci	top
cinam	ko:pam	anger
ci:lam	uyarpañpu	noble conduct
ci:lan	oYukkamuñaiyavan	man of good character
cenni	talai	head
cenni:r	rattam	blood
cemmal	cirañtavar	one who has excellence
cemmaiya:ka	nanra:ka	in an excellent manner
cerukku	karvam	pride
cevv ⁱ ya	nalla	excellent
cevv ⁱ ya	civanta	red
ce:y	kuñantai	child
ce:ymai	tu:ram	distance
cu <u>rr</u> am	contam	relation
cu:l	karu	embryo
cu:lurai	capatam	vow

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/FT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
ña:yiru	cu:riyan	Sun
ña:lam	ulakam	world
takaimai/takavu	takuti	fitness
taṇmai	kulircci	coldness
tamaiyan	aṇṇan	elder brother
tamakkai	akka:l	elder sister
tarukaṇ	vi:ram	valour, bravery
tarāṇi	ulakam	world
talaiya:ya	mukkiya	foremost
ta:yakam	ta:yna:tu	mother-land
ta:rakai	naṭcattiram	star
ta:l	ka:l, pa:taṁ	foot
ta:nai	paṭai	army
tikaṭ	viḷaṇku	be illustrious
tiṇkaḷ	ma:taṁ nilavu	month moon
tiṭṭam/tiṇmai	uṇuti	strength
tiṇṇiya	uṇṇiya:na	strong
tiruppaṭi	ko:yilpaṭi	step at the entrance of a temple

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/FT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
tirumaṇam	kalya:ṇam	marriage
tilakam	poṭṭu	a small circular or other mark on the forehead of woman
tivalai	ni:rtuḷi	drop of water
ti:tu	ti:mai	evil
ti:pam	eṇṇey viḷakku	oil lamp
ti:m	iniya	sweet
ti:vinaḷ	pa:vam	sin
tukaḷ	tu:ci	dust
tukil	a:ṭai, tuṇi	cloth
tuṇcu	tu:ṇku irantupo	to sleep to die
tunaivan	naṇpan kaṇavan	friend husband
tunaivi	manaivi	wife
tuti	kumpiṭu	to worship
tumpi	vaṇṭu	bee
tuy	anupavi	to enjoy
tuyil	tu:kkam	sleep
tuyileYu	tu:kkattiliruntu eYu	to wake up

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/IFT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
turavi	canniya:ci	ascetic
turavaram/ turavu	canniya:cam	asceticism
tu:ymai	cuttam	cleanliness
tu:ya	cuttama:na	clean
terivucey	te:ntetu	to select
teḷḷiya	teḷinta	clear
teḷḷena	teḷiva:ka	clearly
to:Yamai	naṭpu	friendship
to:r <u>ru</u> va:y	a:rampam	beginning
to:r <u>ru</u> va:y	munṇurai	introduction
to:r <u>ru</u> vi	uṇṭa:kku	to create
tuva:lai	tuṇṭu	towel
tu:mam	pukai	smoke
nakai	cirippu	laughter
naṇkai	peṇ	woman
naṭam	na:ṭṭiyam	dance
naṇpakal	matiyam	mid-day
naṇcu	viṣam	poison
naṇ <u>ru</u>	nallatu	good

<i>FT</i>	<i>FT/FT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
nayanam	kaṇ	eye
narttanam	na:ṭṭiyam	dance
nalku	koṭu	to give
nali	meli	to become thin
navil	collu	to say
na:ṭṭam	viruppam	desire
na:vanmai	pe:ccuttiramai	power of speech
nilakkiṭa:r	nilattuccontakka:rar	land lord
nilaiya:mai	nirantaramilla:tatu	impermanence
nirai	cirapputtanmai	merit
ni:ṭṭa:r	cettavar	the dead
ni:rmai	kulircci	coldness
nukar	anupavi	to experience
nukarvu	anupavittal	enjoying
nutal	neṭṭi	forehead
neytal	alli	waterlily
ne:riya	ciranta	excellent
no:npu	viratam	fasting
pakalavan	cu:riyan	Sun

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/IFT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
pakaimai	viro:taṁ	enmity
pattarivu	anupavaariv	knowledge gained by experience
paṇi	ve:lai	work
parattai	vipaca:ri	prostitute
parattamai	vipaca:raṁ	prostitution
paraḷ	kaḷ	precious stone
paṛi	kuṭirai	horse
parukaḷ	kuṭittal	drinking
paruku	kuṭi	to drink
palakaṇi	jannaḷ	window
palku	peruku	to increase
paḷḷiyaṛai	paṭukkaiyaṛai	bed room
panuval	nu:l	book
piṇakkam	ma:ruṇa:tu	disagreement
piṇi	kaṭṭu	to tie
piṇi	no:y	disease
pinpulaṁ	pinnāṇi	background
piṇṇakal	ma:lai	evening
pi:tu	perumitaṁ	honour

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/FT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
putalvan	makan	son
puravalar	koṭaiya:li	patron, liberal man
puravi	kutirai	horse
pulari	viṭiyarka:lai	dawn, early morning
pula:l	kari, ma:micam	meat
pullar	iYinto:r	mean minded person
puḷ	paṛavai	bird
puḷaka:ṇkitam	makiYcci	ecstasy
punal	ni:r	water
pu:vai	peṇ	woman
pe:ṭu	peṇ paṛavai	female of bird
pe:tai	aṛivilla:tavan	foolishman
pe:tamai	aṛiya:mai	ignorance
pe:rikai	muracu	a kind of kettle drum
pe:Yai	petti	box
poykai	ni:ṇilai	pond
poyya:mai	poy colla:tatanmai	truthfulness
poYil	co:lai, to:ṭṭam	garden

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/FT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
porkiYi	ponka:cukaḷ koṇ- ṭatuṇi	cloth having gold coins
makavu	kuYantai	child
makalir	penkaḷ	women
maṇkai	pen	woman
maṇkalana:n	ta:li	wedding chain
maṇcam	kaṭṭil, paṭukkai	cot bed
maṇantai	pen	woman
maṭal	kaṭitam	letter
maṭṭila	aḷavilla:ta	limitless
mati	nilavu	moon
mantama:rutam	tenṇal	breeze
maruṇku	pakkam	side
maravan	vi:ran	brave man
maram	vi:ram	bravery
maruvu	taYuvu	to embrace
maruṭci	mayakkam	bewilderment
maruḷ	mayanṇku	to be confused
maYu	ko:ta:li	battle axe

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/IT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
ma _{ra} i	ve:ta _m	the Veda
ma _{ra} i _{po} ru _l	ra _k a _{ci} ya _m	secret
ma:	vi _{la} ṅ _{ku} pe _{ri} ya	animal large, great
ma:cu	ku _{rr} a _m	fault
ma:ṭ _{ci} / ma:ṭ _{ci} mai	pe _{ru} mai	glory
ma:n _{pu}	pe _{ru} mai, ci _r a _{ppu}	dignity
ma:n _{tar}	ma _{kka} ḷ	people
ma:ri	ma _ṽ ai	rain
ma:ri _{kka} :lam	ma _ṽ a _{ik} ka:lam	rainy season
ma:ru _{ta} m	te _n ra _l	breeze
ma:l	i _{ra}	to die
ma:ṛ _{ra} :n	e _{ti} ri	enemy
miku	a _{ti} ka _{ma} :ku	to be in excess
miku _{nta}	a _{ti} ka _{ma} :na	excessive
mika _i	a _{ti} ka _m	excess
mi _{ṭa} ru	ka _ṽ uttu	neck
mi:ṭ _{ci}	ti _{ru} mpu _{ta} ḷ	returning
mukai	mo _{kku} , mo _{ttu}	bud

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/FT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
mukiy	to:ngu arumpu/mokkuvitu	to appear to put forth buds
mukiyinakai	puncirippu	smile
muppirinu:l	pu:gu:l	sacred thread
muraṇ	ve:rupa:tu	disagreement
muraṇpaṭu	ve:rupaṭu	to differ
muYavu	muracu	drum
mu:rum	ella:m/muYutum	all
mu:tu:ai	paYanoYi	proverb
mu:ppu	mutumai	old age
maintan	makan	son
maiya:l	mayakkam	infatuating of love
meimai	uṇmai	truth
yañṇam	ya:kam	sacrificial worship
ya:kkai	uṭampu	body
ya:vum	ella:m	all
ra:jakkirukam	araṇṇanai	king's palace
vaṇikam	viya:pa:ram	trade
vaṇikan	viya:pa:ri	merchant

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/FT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
vatu _v ai	tiruma _n am	marriage
van _a ppu	a _Y aku	beauty
van _a m	ka: _{tu}	forest
van _i tai	pe _n	woman
vara: _{kam}	pa _n ri	pig
var _t takan	viya: _{pa:ri}	merchant
va _r u _t u	ta _t avu	to rub
va _l i	ka: _{rru}	wind
va: _{navan}	te: _{var}	celestial being
va: _{navu:r} ti	a: _{ka:yavima:nam}	aeroplane
va: _y mai	u _n mai	truth
va: _y ila: _{ka}	mu: _{lam}	through
va: _{vi}	ku: _{lam}	pond
va: _{la:} viru	cumma: _{iru}	be a silent observer
vi _n mi: _n	na _t cattiram	star
vi _t irvi _t ir	na _t u _n ku	to tremble
vi _n a	ke: _{lvi}	question
vi _n avu	ke: _l	to ask
vi _y appu	a: _{ccariyam}	amazement

<i>FT</i>	<i>IT/FT</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
viraivu	ve:kam	speed
viYai	virumpu	wish
viYaiivu	viruppam	desire
viYuppam	nanmai	benefit
viYuppuṇ	ka:yam	wound
viYupporuḷ	uyarntatu	great thing
vili	ku:ppiṭu	to call
vi:ra:ṇkanai	vi:rammikuntavaḷ	woman warrior
vekuḷ	ko:pamkoḷ	to be angry
velliṭai	teḷivu	clear
ve:ṭkai	viruppam	desire
ve:ṭtal	virumputal	desiring
ve:ṇuka:nam	kuYalo:cai	music by flute
ve:nirka:lam/ ve:nil	ko:ṭaikka:lam	summer
ve:ntan	aracan	king
ve:la:nmai	payirttoYil/ vivaca:yam	agriculture
ji:van muktar	ṇa:ni	person of great spiritual wisdom

2. Some of the lexical items of FT are used in IT in limited contexts and in some cases in restricted sense as given below:

ari 'to know' occurs as in

avan ariya:ta payyan

'He is a small boy, he does not know anything'

irai 'God'

paḷḷikku:ṭattil irai vaṇakkam naṭakkiratu

'Prayer is being conducted in the school'

uṇṭi 'food'

uṇṭikoṭuttavare uyirkoṭuttavar a:va:r

'Those who gave food gave life' (proverb)

kiḻamai 'day'

iṇṇu butan kiḻamai

'Today is Wednesday'

kunru 'shrink'

avan itaikke:ṭṭukkunrippo:na:n

'He drooped after hearing this'

ṇa:yiru 'Sun'

ṇa:yirrukkiḻamai

'Sunday'

ti:pam 'oil lamp'

ka:rttikai ti:pam

'Oil lamp of ka:rttikai month'

aṇṇa:malai ti:pam

'Oil lamp of Annamalai hill'

tukil 'cloth'

itu Tucca:tanān tukil uriyum ka:ṭci

'This is the scene where Tucca:tanān is going to remove the cloth'

ma:cu 'fault'

ma:cu maṛuvilla:ta mukam

'Clean face without any stain'

ma:l 'to die'

ma:ṇḍavar mi:ṇḍatillai

'Dead persons never returned'

vara:kam 'pig'

vara:ka avata:ram

'Pig incarnation'

kani 'fruit' occurs in the sense of 'ripe' as in

intappaṭam kanintu irukkiratu

'This fruit is over ripened'

ka:ṇ 'to see'

na:n oru kana kaṇṭe:n

'I had a dream'

cel 'to go' occurs only in a particular context with ka:cu 'money'
as in

inta ka:cu cella:tu

'This coin will not go'

It must be mentioned that some of the FT words, particularly newly coined words, such as ceyala:lar 'secretary', amaiccar 'minister', makalir manram 'women's association', paṇimanai 'workshop', va:noli 'radio', tolaikka:ṭci 'television', aṇcal nilayam 'post office', manamakiṭmanram 'recreation club', etc., are increasingly used in IT. It was mentioned earlier that IT words occur also in FT. Thus both varieties are getting closer in vocabulary.

However, there are a few words which are used in IT, but not accepted in FT. They are listed below. In general onomatopoeic words are more common in IT than in FT.

Informal Tamil

rompa

le:cu

vaṇṭava:lam

va:ttiya:r

Formal Tamil

pala, mika, atika 'many'

eḷitu 'easy'

nilamai 'state, condition'

a:ciriyar 'teacher'

NOTES

Chapter 1 : Diglossia

1. The defining features of diglossia such as

- a) The high variety is a superposed variety,
- b) The high variety is a vehicle of a larger and respected body of written literature,
- c) The high variety is learned largely by formal education,
- d) The high variety is used mostly for written purposes,
- e) The high variety is used for formal speech,
- f) The high variety is not used for ordinary conversations by any sector of the speech community

are no more the defining features of diglossia if we consider the situation where diglossia and bidialectism are involved, where,

- a) The standard variety is used in spoken by a section of population,
- b) The low variety is used in formal situations and the high variety is used in many of the informal situations,
- c) The high variety is acquired as vernacular.

So, the defining features of diglossia have to be modified. Some of the modifications are proposed in Moag (1984).

2. In Tamil, the registral vocabulary and a small section of lexical items are not used in IT. So, the Tamil situation is slightly different from the bidialectal situation. In the bidialectal situation only the registral vocabulary is not used in the formal situation. In Tamil, apart from the registral vocabulary, a small section of lexical items also is not used in IT. However, modern Tamil uses all the lexical items of IT with some restrictions.
3. Scholars who worked on diglossia have brought out different types of diglossic situations, such as Aglossia (Alexiou, 1982); Schizoglossia (Haugen, 1963); Biglossia (Fellman, 1979; Sotiropoulos, 1977), Broad diglossia (Fasold, 1984); Classic diglossia (Fasold, 1984); Double nested diglossia (Fasold, 1984; Mkilifi, 1978); Embedded diglossia (Pañalosa, 1980; Fasold, 1984); Endoglossia (Kloss, 1968); In-glossia (Kloss, 1966; Timm, 1981; Fellman, 1975; Fasold, 1984); Inter language diglossia (Timm, 1981); Leaky diglossia (Fasold, 1978, 1984; Fishman, 1967, 1972b); Linear poly glossia (Fasold, 1984, Plout, 1977); Oral tradition diglossia (Paul, 1970), and Pseudo diglossia (Fishman, 1972f) (Britto, 1986).
4. The 'classical diglossia' is called 'congruent diglossia', where the high and low varieties are of the same language and both the speech communities are coterminus. All the speakers of the low variety do not have complete command of high variety but they recognize the high variety as 'real' or 'proper' variety of the language (Gair, 1986).
5. Though Tamil has classical literatures dating back upto two thousand years, the present day formal variety of Tamil does not have any classical format. As shown in the book, the modern Tamil is going towards IT in using some grammatical categories, lexical categories, etc. From that point of view, formal Tamil does not use classical norm. Even in other diglossic situations of Telugu, Kannada, and Sinhalese, though these languages also have classical literatures, they do not use classical norms in formal variety (De Silva, 1986).
6. If modern standard Arabic is considered as a language from the point of view of oral system of communication within a given speech community, it is not a language, because the native speakers and language do not go together in this case as modern standard Arabic has no native

speakers. Modern standard Arabic is prescriptive since language use is not taken into account here. Further, modern standard Arabic is not the language of purists nor the language of language academy of Cairo. The prescriptive linguist cannot contribute to understand the diglossic situation of Arabic. The notion that Arabic has high and low varieties is a false assumption. Many languages are being lumped under the designation 'Arabic' today. All the available grammars of modern standard Arabic are prescriptive and they fail to concede language use in the Arab world. Writing a grammar for modern standard Arabic is not possible but postulating correlations between modern standard Arabic and colloquial Arabic is possible. These correlations may be considered as the true nature of diglossia in Arabic (Kaye, 1970).

7. This kind of language situation is found in other parts of the world also. In Africa Krio is an English based Creole language which is spoken in and around Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone. Here, Krio and English are in diglossic situation where Krio is the home language and English is the official language of education and is used for formal and public purposes by the educated speakers of Krio who are called Creoles (Johnson, 1986).

8. According to Johnson (1986) Haitian Creole situation is called 'Creole Diglossia' where the low variety is a Creole based on the language French, which is a standard variety. The Swiss-German situation is 'Border Diglossia' where the high variety originates in one speech community which is superposed on low variety which is not in the speech community. However, according to Gair (1986) both the Haitian Creole situation and Swiss-German situation are same and are called 'Included Diglossia'.

Chapter 2 : Formal and Informal Tamil

1. Phonetic features are only segmental features since the suprasegmental features are not within the scope of this study.
2. The feature [retracted] may be used instead of the feature [distributed] to distinguish dental and alveolar consonant. The tongue tip is retracted when the alveolar consonant is produced, so it is [+retracted]

and the dental consonant is produced without retracting the tongue tip, so it is [-retracted] sound.

3. Western scholars who worked on Tamil have transcribed the long [k], [t] and [p] of Tamil as short voiceless plosives and the short [k], [t] and [p] as short voiced plosive. The plosives remain unvoiced initially and when long medially, voiced intervocally and after nasal consonant (Meenakshisundaram, 1965 : 146).

Chapter 3 : Phonological Description

1. The morphemes -in and -an are used as possessive case markers as shown in 4.1.2.
2. Historically the doubling of the word final stops such as [t] or [t̪] has an alternative approach rather than having [tt] or [tu]. Causative verbs may be derived from simple verbs by positing [t] as the causative marker. The causative verbs which end either in [tt] or in [t̪t̪] may be derived from simple verbs with the help of [t], the causative marker as in

e:t-t	→	e:tt̪-	'to raise'
u:t-t	→	u:tt̪-	'cause to flow'
ma:t-t	→	ma:tt̪-	'cause to change'
a:t-t	→	a:tt̪-	'cause to dance'
o:t-t	→	o:tt̪-	'cause to run'
va:t-t	→	va:tt̪-	'cause to dry'
ku:t-t	→	ku:tt̪-	'cause to gather'

Some of the causative forms which are derived from the simple verbs with the help of the causative marker [t] are used as nouns also as in u:ttu 'spring', a:ttu 'movement' va:ttu 'drying' (Ramaswami, 1982).

Chapter 4 : Grammatical Differences : Formal and Informal Tamil

1. Verbal noun+um type of constructions, such as vantatu+um, po:natu+um, etc., are available in IT also but they do not express consecutive action as in FT but express conjunction as in

- 1) murukan iṅku vantatu+um po:natu+um enakku
Murugan here coming- conj. going- conj. to me
teri-y-un
know- fut.
'I know that Murugan came and went'
- 2) avan koṭu-tt atu+ um teriyum aval va:ṇki-y-
he give-past-neut-conj. know she get
atu+ um teriyum
neut-conj. know
'(I know) that he gave and she got'
- 3) avan ke:ṭṭatu+um koṭuttatum teriyum
he ask-past-conj. give-past-conj. know
'(I know) that he asked and (you) gave'
- 4) villai eṭuttatum muṇittattum ya:rukku teriyum
bow take-past-conj. break-past-conj. who-dt. know
'Who knows that bow was taken and broken'

2. The modal auxiliary ku:ṭum occurs in the negative imperative constructions in IT as shown below:

- 1) ni aṅke po:ka-k- ku:ṭ-a:tu
you there to go- auxi-neg.
'You should not go there'

2) ni ingu cinima-v-ukku-p-po:ka-k- ku:ṭ-a:tu
 you today cinema Dat. to go auxi-neg.
 'You should not go to cinema today'

3) ni na:lai pallikku:ṭam po:ka-k-ku:ṭ-a:tu
 you tomorrow school to go auxi-neg.
 'You should not go to school tomorrow'
 'That girl is more beautiful than this girl'

3. The auxiliary -a:m 'it seems' seems to be a construction of IT rather than FT. The construction like

- 1) avar va- nt- a:r-a:m
 he come-past-PT- aux.
 'It seems he came'
- 2) itai ellam conn-a:r-a:m
 this (acc.) all told-PT- aux.
 'It seems told all these things'
- 3) na:lai po:-kir -a:r- a:m
 tomorrow go-pre-PT-aux.
 'It seems he is going tomorrow'

These sentences are more like IT constructions rather than FT constructions. The auxiliary occurs with all tense markers as in va-nt-a:r-a:m, varu-kir-a:r-am, varu-v-a:r-am.

4. FT has three tense markers whereas IT has mostly two tenses. IT uses future tense very rarely. Instead of future, present tense is used as shown below:

- 1) na:n na:lai varu-kir- e:n
 I tomorrow come-pre-PT
 'I am coming tomorrow'

- 2) na:n na:lai po:-kir- e:n
 I tomorrow go- pre-PT
 'I am going tomorrow'
- 3) avan na:lai varu-kir- a:n
 he tomorrow come-pre-PT
 'He is coming tomorrow'

5. Comparative degree is expressed by the word ka:ttilum also in IT as shown below:

- 1) murukan avan-ai- k-ka:ttilum periyavan
 Murukan he- acc. than elder
 'Murukan is elder to him'
- 2) ta:marai ro:ja-v-ai- k-ka:ttilum periyatu
 lotus rose- acc. than big
 'Lotus is bigger than rose'
- 3) aval ival-ai- k-ka:ttilum aYaka:naval
 she she- acc. than beautiful girl
 'That girl is more beautiful than this girl'

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